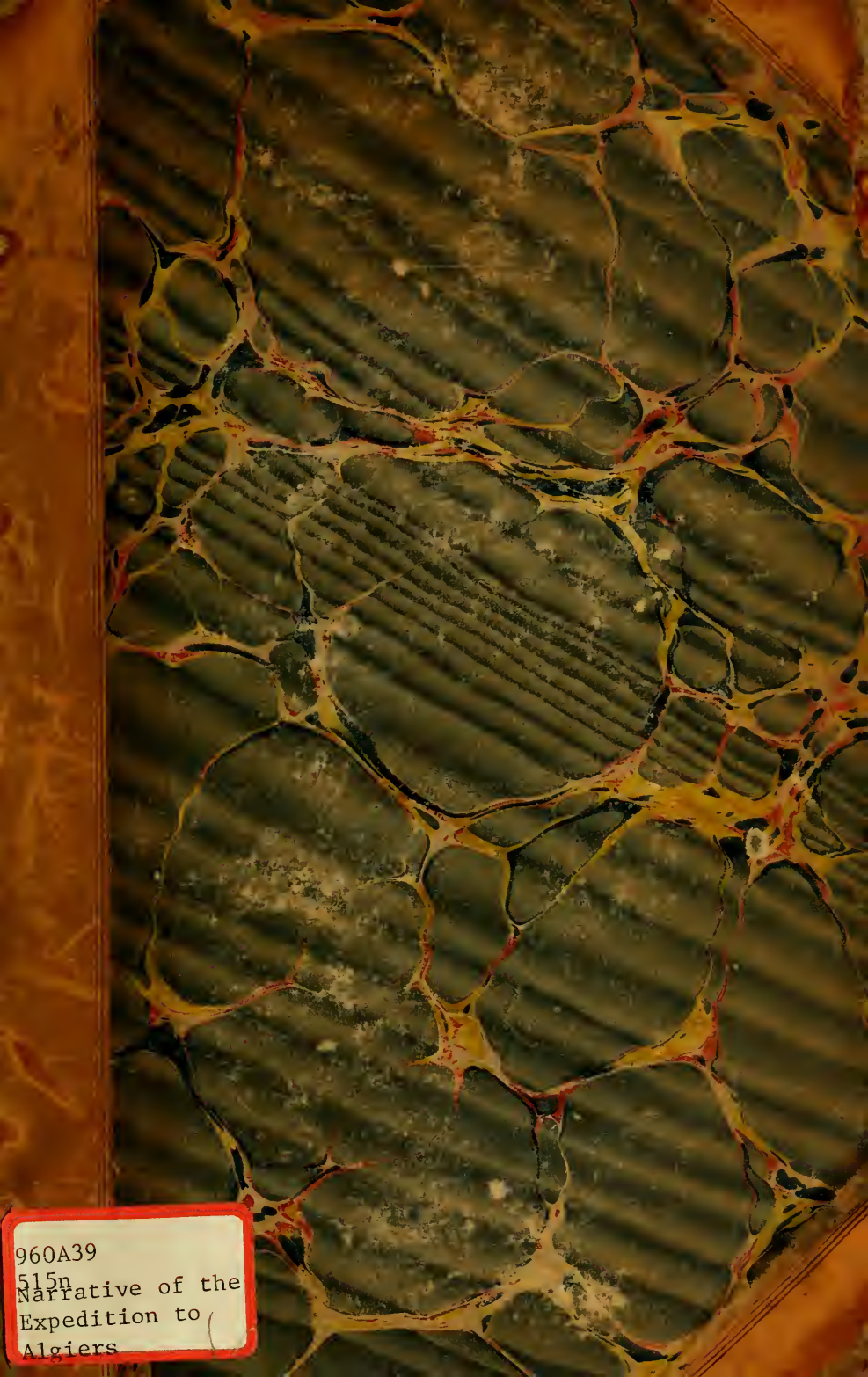
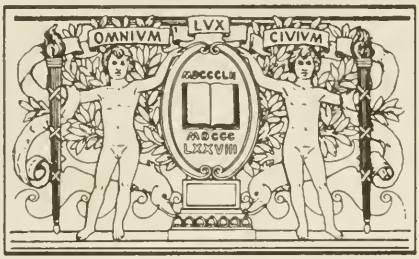

960A39
515n
Narrative of the
Expedition to
Algiers

960A39
S15n



BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Published by J. Murray, 1 Jan.

Abrm Gabamar

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS

IN THE YEAR 1816,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

THE RIGHT HON.

ADMIRAL

LORD VISCOUNT EXMOUTH.

By Mr. A. SALAMÉ,

A NATIVE OF ALEXANDRIA, IN EGYPT,

Interpreter in His Britannic Majesty's Service for the Oriental Languages, who accompanied his Lordship for the subsequent Negotiations with the Dey.

PUBLISHED BY PERMISSION.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1819.

DT291
.S15

London: Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-Yard, Temple-Bar.

960A39
S15n

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD,

LORD VISCOUNT EXMOUTH,

Baron Exmouth of Canonteign, a Baronet and LL.D., Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Sicilian Order of Saint Ferdinand and Merit, Knight Grand Cross of the Military Order of Saint Maurice and Lazare of Sardinia, Knight of the Most Honourable and Ancient Order of the Annunciation of Savoy and Sardinia, Knight Grand Cross of the Military Order of William of the Netherlands, and Knight Grand Cross of the Royal and Distinguished Order of Charles the Third of Spain.

My Lord,

As your illustrious Nation, under the auspices of His Royal Highness the Prince

Regent, acting in the Name and on the Behalf of His Most Excellent Majesty KING GEORGE THE THIRD, was the first who set an example of humanity to the civilized world in the Abolition of "*the Slave Trade*," and the only one who eternized her exalted name by having felt most deeply interested in the Abolition of "*Christian Slavery*," which, for so many centuries, had been a general, and considered as a rightful practice, among the savage rulers of the Barbary coasts; and, as my first employment in the honourable service of this Sublime Throne was the performance of my duty as Interpreter, on the occasion of the Expedition to Algiers, under your Lordship's command, I most humbly beg the indulgence of inscribing the following Narrative, which I have composed on the said glorious Expedition, (in which your Lordship's

name will ever be remembered with liveliest affection,) to your Lordship, as a most sincere expression of the gratitude and respect of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most humble and

most devoted Servant,

ABRAHAM SALAMÉ.

London, Feb. 16*th,* 1819.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Our Family—my Father and Mother—my Education—Syrian Master and Mistress—their Customs and Manners—my first Employment, &c. &c. . page i

ITINERARY.

Journey from Rosetta, Cairo, Suez, and Toor—Monastery of St. Catharine . . . page xvii
Decree of Mohammed—Remarks, and a *note*, page xxii
Cosseir—Jedda—Red Sea—Desert Island—Camaran—Mocka—Hasseer—Jedda—Shipwreck—Yambó—Cosseir—Desert between the Red Sea and the Nile—Kena—Assiútt, &c. . . . . page xxxiv
History of the Mamlúks and Elfy Bey—Biographical Notes—ditto Sketch of Mohammed Aly, the present Pashá of Egypt—Journey from Upper Egypt to Cairo, &c. . . . . page lix
General Frazer's Expedition—Inclination of the People of Egypt—why they do prefer the Mamlúks, and hate the present Government . . . page lxxxi
History of the Mamlúks and Mohammed Aly—Journey to Fáyoúm . . . . page lxxxiv

Discovery of a Mummy Pit . . . page cvi
Continuation of the History of the Mamlúks—their Decline, and Refuge in Nubia—their inhuman Massacre at the Citadel of Cairo—their Extirpation from Egypt —Conclusion of the introduction, &c. &c. page cxiv

---

NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS.

PART I.

The Cause of the Expedition—its Sailing from Portsmouth and Plymouth—Arrival at Gibraltar—Meeting the Dutch Squadron, under Admiral Van Cappellan —Sailing from Gibraltar—Meeting the Prometheus, Captain Dashwood, with the British Consul's Family on board—Cause of the Consul being detained by the Dey—Arrival at Algiers—Lord Exmouth's Despatches to the Dey—Declaration for the Abolition of *Christian Slavery*—Boat sent on Shore under a Flag of Truce—Meeting with the Captain of the Port—Delivery of the Despatches—Description of the Fortifications of Algiers—No Answer given by the Dey—Return of the Boat towards the Queen Charlotte—rapid Entrance of the Fleet under the Batteries—Fire begun from the Shore—Attack took place—Description of the Horror of the Battle—Remarks on the astonishing Manner of the English Seamen during the Engagement—Destruction of the Enemy's Navy and Batteries—Victory—hauling out—Anchoring in the middle of the Bay, &c. &c. . . . . page 1

PART II.

Lord Exmouth's second Letter to the Dey on the morning after the Battle—Boat sent on Shore again —Meeting with Captain Omar—Delivery of the Letter—Acceptance of the Terms—Captain of the Port sent by the Dey on board the Queen Charlotte—his conversation with Lord Exmouth—time fixed for our meeting with the Dey—the Consul's coming on board the next day—Captain Brisbane and me sent on shore —our Meeting with the Dey—Negotiations—Apology —Time fixed for the reception of the Christian Slaves and the Money—Reception of both—Conveying them to their respective Countries—the two Spaniards—the little Boy—Algerine Women—Conclusion of our's and the Netherlands Treaties—ditto of old Accounts between the Dey and our Government—triumphant Return of the Expedition to England, &c. page 55

PART III.

Remarks on the Speediness and Success of the Expedition—Number of Killed and Wounded on board the British and Dutch Squadrons—Loss of the Algerines —Extraordinary Quantities of Powder and Shot spent in the Battle—Curious Circumstance of an Algerine Magician—Damages sustained by the Algerines— Fertility and History of the Kingdom of Algiers— Barbarism and Cruelty of the Deys, &c.—Thanks to the Almighty for the full Success and Protection of the British Navy and Armies . . page 161

*** *Many other subjects are embodied in the Book, and omitted in this Table.*

ERRATA IN THE ITINERARY.

Page xxxvi. line 17, for " from *the* Tayef," *read* " from Tayef."
lvii. bottom, *read* " *Manshijé, before Ehkmim.*"
lxiii. line 3, *read* " *Manshijé, before Ehkmim.*"
lxiv. *note*, line 11, for " at the battle of Mallawi," *read* " at the battle of *Manfalût.*"
lxxi. line 15, for " towards the south," *read* " towards the *north.*"
lxxvii. line 1, for " and eat," *read* " and *ate.*"
xcii. line 9, for " Kákhíya Bey returned with his answer," *read* " *The kakhiá* Bey returned with *this* answer."
ib. line 12, for " kákhíya Bey," *read* " *the* kakhiá Bey."
cxiii. *note*, line 1, for " Cairo," *read* " *Constantinople.*"

ERRATA IN THE TEXT.

Page 6, line 6, for " came," *read* " *coming.*"
ib. line 13, for " *Massadoda*," *read* " *Massooda.*"
19, line 5, for " five inches diameter," *read* " five inches in *circumference.*"
32, line 8, for " of 20 feet," *read* " of 20 *palms.*"
50, line 18, for " about *seventy* years," *read* " about *sixty* years."
59, line 7, for " frigates that was," *read* " frigates *which were.*"
ib. line 11, for " wait three hours," *read* " wait *two or three* hours."
83, line 7, for " of the Turkish," *read* " *with* the Turkish."
102, line 6, for " *e 'l Ammiraglio*," *read* " *c l'Ammiraglio.*"
115, line 15, for " at the palace," *read* " at *the gate of* the palace."
129, line 11, for " of the sketch," *read* " of the *annexed* sketch."
144, line 17, for " very well," *read* " very well, *I believe.*"
146, line 9, for " my mother," *read* " my mother's."
183, *note*, line 3, for " preface," *read* " *introduction.*"
209, ditto, line 4, for " the year 1517," *read* " 1757."
214, line 9, for " sent it the Dey," *read* " sent it *to* the Dey."
ib. note, line 1, for " throughout *all* the," *read* " *throughout the.*"

Directions to the Binder for placing the Plates.

1. Portrait of the Author - - *to face the Title-page.*
2. Plan of Algiers - - - - *to face* - - p. 34.
3. Interview with the Dey - - *to face* - - p. 83.
4. Figures of Algerine Women *to face* - - p. 129.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM about to enter on a very uninteresting subject, by offering to my friends a premature abstract of my life, together with a short explanation of the circumstances under which I became acquainted with the European languages, and which occasioned my having the honour to be employed in the service of the government of this truly exalted nation. An explanation which I thought necessary, to account for the long delay of the following unadorned narrative,* which is now humbly submitted to

* As I am not yet rich enough in the English language, and never wish to assume more than my power,

the indulgence and generosity of the British public.

Perhaps it may be thought an instance of vanity that I pretend at all to write my own life at this *early period*, as it is very difficult for a person to speak of himself without leading the mind to think either he is a vain man or an assumer; but as this narrative shall contain very little of my own history, which will be as a mere curious satisfaction, being a foreigner, I should hope that the reader will not consider such representation as an object of vanity.

Our family (*Sálámé*, of the Christian persuasion) is well known at St. John D'Acra, as well as in several parts of Palestine; this, though I never was in those

it is right to explain, that all this humble volume is my own rough composition, except that part from *the 16th line in page 222, to the 2d line in page 226*, is not all together mine, being compiled from various extracts.

places myself, I have learned from public reports.*

In consequence of the atrocities of *Ahmed Pashaw*, (who, on account of his bloody character, was known by the title of *Jazzar Pashaw*, or the butcher,) in the said country, my grandfather very narrowly escaped with his own life and those of his

* It is a singular fact, and perfectly unexpected by me, that Mr. *Lusignan*, whom I found in this country, (the former interpreter in his Majesty's service, but now retired,) knew our family upwards of forty years since; and that, while he was at St. John D'Acra, he had once transacted business with my grandfather to the amount of *forty thousand sequins*. Yet by this I do not pretend to say that our family, at present, is rich; but, as in all the east they look to the good birth and origin of a family, thank God, we have always enjoyed a considerable rank in society.

The word "*Sálámé*," in Arabic, signifies *Salvation, Peace, Tranquillity, Safety*, &c. &c. I insert this explanation of our family name, on account that, in the Italian language, there is a word "*salame*" which is the name of a kind of *sausage*.

family, leaving behind him all his wealth and property, and fled to Mount Libanon. All his family was saved except the youngest of his sons, (one of my uncles,) who was detained and made a Mohamedan; and who still lives at St. John D'Acra as governor of the custom-house.

My grandfather survived this calamity only eighteen months; when my father left the family, under the care of his eldest brother, and went to Alexandria in Egypt. Being related to the collector of the customs of that city, he was employed as treasurer; and, a few years after, he married my mother, (one of the collector's nieces,) who had arrived, with her parents, from Aleppo.

On the 12th of November, 1788, I was born at Alexandria; and, a short time after, my father went with his family to Rosetta, where he was established as col-

lector of duties upon all the linen and cotton manufactories of that city.*

When the French came to Egypt, I was then about ten years old; and I still remember that very often, on my return from school in the afternoon, I went to see them relieving guard; I also recollect my father and mother saying, that there was a Frenchman who had embraced the Mohamedan religion, (*General Menou*, who assumed the name of *General Abdallah Jack Menou,*) and was married to the sister of the proprietor of the bath where my mother very often went.†

* The reader must not think that the miserable manufactories of Rosetta are the least worth while to be mentioned in comparison to the amazing ones of the British!

† A short time after his marriage,* he wished to visit all

* *Madame Menou* is of a *shérif*, or noble family, (descendant of Mohammed, who are entitled to wear green,) of the name of *Némat Allah*, a well known family at Rosetta.—She is a plain-looking woman, of a dark complexion; she knows my mother and all our family quite well. After the death of General Menou, she was left in France with a child, and some income to live upon. I believe she is still somewhere in France.

At school I learnt the Psalms, the Acts of the Apostles, a few chapters of the Gospel, and some parts of the Bible, in Arabic; and the Catechism, with several other ecclesiastical tracts, with great ease, and without having had any punishment from my school-master during the time of my learning.*

the respectable Christian and Mohamedan families of Rosetta; and when he came to our house, I remember that I asked his interpreter, "Why General Abdallah did not wear the Turkish dress?" Upon his requiring of the interpreter the explanation of what I said, he called me to him, and asked me, "Why I did not learn the French language?" I said, "because my school-master does not understand it; but if you will teach me," said I, "I shall like to learn it." He then laughed, and wrote out the *Alphabet* for me, and read it with me several times; after which he asked my father why he did not send me to France? My father, in reply, said, that I was too young yet. But as the name of England was known as the greatest country in the world, especially among the easterns on account of the superiority of the *British manufactures*, I said, "No! I should like to go to *Inkilterra*;" (this is the name for England, used by the eastern people). He then laughed and went away.

* The present miserable schools in that once great

When the French were compelled by the British forces to evacuate Egypt, and

country, contain only one room, in which no more than fifteen or twenty boys can be accommodated; (they have no schools for females at all.) They sit on the floor, with crossed legs, upon a mat only; and a few boys, whose parents send them *cushions*, are somewhat better accommodated. At one corner of the room, the school-master sits with a wooden box (instead of a desk) before him, and a ruler in his hand; he calls one boy after the other, to give him or to hear his lesson: they read from seven or eight o'clock in the morning till noon, when every boy goes home to dinner; between one and two o'clock, they must be at school again; and if any boy delays in the morning or in the afternoon, or if he does not learn his lesson quickly, or commits any improper act at his home or at school, he must undergo a punishment of *bastinado* on his feet. All a boy learns at school is, the *Alphabet*, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Angelical Salutation*, the *Creed*, the *Psalms of David*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, a few *Chapters of the Gospel, and some parts of the Bible*, with several other *Ecclesiastical Tracts*, and *the Catechism*; after which, he will be taken from school, and placed either as apprentice or in some counting-house.

The school-masters, in general, are chosen out of the idlest and most ignorant people, who hardly know how to spell the language; on this account it is evident, that

while both armies were yet there,* my father took me from school and put me apprentice in his own warehouse, where, in a short time, through my practice with the English and French officers, I became acquainted with some words of both languages, and with the names of all the goods in the house, and assisted my father as interpreter; for he only spoke the Arabic, and all his business in the house was carried on sometimes by signs, and sometimes through the medium of a friend of his who knew the Italian language.

A Mr. J. B. one of my father's friends, who was in the French service and wished to quit Egypt, had a very good collection

the boys, by this rude method of education, cannot acquire but very poor knowledge of the world.

* At this time Sir W. Sidney Smith, had returned from St. John D'Acra; and, I remember, that he did us the honour of visiting ours, and some other families.

of European books, which he had left with my father to be sold. On this occasion, I requested that gentleman to choose me a useful book, upon which he gave me a grammar of three languages,—Italian, French, and English; and, at the same time, he advised my father to send me with him to *Venice*.*

I began to look over this grammar, and requested every officer who came to our house to read with me; so that in about six months I made some progress, especially in the Italian language.

After the French had left Egypt, my father sent me to Alexandria, where I was

* As I now feel the value of time which I have, innocently, lost during my youth, I cannot refrain from expressing my sorrow, by saying, that I would have been certainly very fortunate, if my father had any idea of the enlightened state of Europe, and had agreed to send me, while I was young, to somewhere on the continent; where I might, perhaps, have acquired a little of knowledge.

under the care of my godfather, who was educated in Italy, till the English army evacuated that city in 1802. I returned to Rosetta, from which place my father took the family, and went to Cairo, where he placed me as apprentice under Mr. M. D. a Christian merchant from Syria. At this time I was about fourteen years old, and could speak the Italian language tolerably well; and a little French, with a very few words of English.

Having been used to the European education, I could not bear the new method of the rude customs of my Syrian master, of whose manners I shall relate a few circumstances, merely to give an idea of the brutal system of the eastern people in general; for I hope, in time, to be able to publish a complete work, which will contain many interesting and amusing subjects. The first thing that I was

obliged to do in the morning, between seven and eight o'clock, was to go and bid *good-morning* to my master and mistress by kissing their hands, and standing before them, with my hands across my breast, waiting to receive their orders. If they had not breakfasted, I was to go and call the servant, or a black female slave, to bring the breakfast and the coffee, ready-made; and I was to fill the cups and present them to both. If my master was about to smoke, I was obliged to run to the kitchen and bring a piece of fire to light his pipe; and, if after breakfast, they wished to wash their hands, I was to bring the basin with the jug, and to pour the water on their hands; and afterwards to present them with the napkins. These were my duties in the morning. After this I was to go to the counting-house where I had the degree of under-clerk, but I was to attend, besides,

all the visitors or customers, in treating them with coffee and lighting their pipes.

At noon my master's dinner was to come from home, and I was to attend him in the same manner as at his breakfast, after which he was accustomed to sleep for a couple of hours; and at six in the evening we were to go home. Before my master's coming home, my mistress was (after having spent her day in sewing or embroidering, and smoking) to fill a bottle with about a pint of a kind of very strong spirit, called "*Aráki,*" or *aqua vitæ*, distilled from *dates* or from *raisins*, and to envelope it with a wetted piece of linen, in order to keep it cool till he came; likewise, she was to get ready for him, in a small plate, a few almonds, or radishes, or some cheese, to eat while drinking, in order to keep up, as they say, his appetite for supper. On his arrival at home, she was to receive

him at the top of the stairs, to kiss his hand, to take off his great coat, to change his turban, and to stand before him with her hands across her breast, till he should order her to sit down, or ask her to bring him some water to wash his face and feet. After this, she was to bring him his pipe, and the bottle of spirit with the plate before-mentioned, and to fill a very small cup, and to present it to him, with something from the plate; and every time that he returned the cup empty to her, she was to receive it and kiss his hand. In short, by the time he had finished that bottle of spirit, he became quite tipsy, when he asked for his supper, which was to be brought to the same place where he was seated. He could eat but very little, and then we (I and my mistress) were obliged to carry him to his bed, when, very often, he was angry with us, and got up to beat me and

my mistress, and sometimes he slept in the same place where he ate and drank.

To return to my subject: I suffered in this way for three months, after which I went and declared to my father, that I could stop no longer with my Syrian master, and that I had better return to Alexandria to renew my European studies, which I had almost forgot.

In a few weeks after, a revolution took place at Cairo, between the *Beys* or *Mamlúks*, and the late Captain Pashaw, (*Mohammed Kosrúf Pashaw*, who was then governor of that city,) by instigation of the present governor of Egypt *Mohammed Alij Pashaw*, (who was then promoted, from a common soldier, to the degree of *Beeng Bashlik*, or chief of a thousand,) in consequence of which my father returned with his family to Rosetta, where he placed me at the counting-house of Mr. *Carlo Ros-*

seti, the late Russian and Austrian Consul General. I staid with this respectable gentleman for about a year, in the course of which I made great progress in my European studies, as well as in many other subjects of trade and diplomatic business. —At Rosetta there was a very well known and most enterprizing person, Mr. *Francesco Petrucci*, (the late Consul General of Sweden, and Vice-Consul and Agent for England,) who understanding that Mr. C. R. had left Rosetta for Cairo, and that I was at home, wished to have me with him as interpreter, whereupon I volunteered my services for one year. My stay with this worthy gentleman was in every way to my improvement, for he was a very clever and active man.

ITINERARY,

AND

CONTINUATION OF THE INTRODUCTION.

At the latter end of the year 1804, Mr. F. Petrucci, having had an opportunity of some official business to the East Indies, he ordered me to attend his secretary, (Mr. A. B. an Italian gentleman) who was then in Upper Egypt; and whom I was to go to meet at Cosseir, with a vessel from Suez, belonging to Mr. Petrucci.*

I received my instructions, and in the beginning of 1805, I proceeded to Cairo, where I stopped a few days, till the usual caravan from that city to *Suez* got ready, at the place called *Berket-Elhage*, or the Field of Pilgrims.†

* At this time Lord *Valentia*, with Mr. *Salt*, came from the East Indies, and were at Mr. Petrucci's—his Lordship gave us some letters of introduction to the Sheriff of Jedda, and to the Governor of Mocka, as well as to several other persons in both places.

† This is an extensive plain out of Cairo, where all the pilgrims assemble.

I went to the chief of the *Bedouins*, who undertook to escort the caravan under his own protection, and hired from him a horse for myself, and a camel to carry my baggage, with two leather bags of water,* for less than £2.

Between two and three in the morning, they fired a gun, as a signal for marching, when every body got up and began to load his camel,† and in a short time, all the caravan was ready, and proceeded on its journey. We travelled through a desert plain, composed of sand and small stones, with very few hills: at noon, when the heat of the sun was very severe, we halted in the middle of the desert, without any tree or place of shelter.

This being my first day of such uncomfortable travelling, I had suffered very much. But my astonishment was to see all the Bedouins or Arabs, who make almost the whole of their journey on foot, immediately after the reposing of the caravan, envelope their heads and the upper part of their bodies with a very heavy kind of blanket, called *Eheram*, and go to sleep very comfortably on the ground, exposed to the

* There was no water to be met with on our way.

† Every two or three camels are attended by a man.

heat of that burning sun.—I was told, that they wrap themselves in this way, in order to prevent the heat of the sun from penetrating to their *brain;* and they advised me to do the same.

At four in the afternoon we continued our journey till nine o'clock, when we reposed to feed our poor animals, whose food was some beans, mixed with straw; after which they gave them a little water.

At five the next morning, we travelled in the same way; and, in short, at five in the afternoon of the following day, we came to a well of very bad water, which lies about six or eight miles west of Suez. After we had refreshed ourselves as well as the animals, we proceeded on the same evening to the town of Suez, where I arrived, quite exhausted with fatigue. I took up my lodgings at a *Hkan*, or warehouse, where some Christian agents reside for the reception of goods.

The town of Suez is a very miserable and deserted place, built on the west side of the Gulf of the Red Sea: They have no production whatever; their provisions are imported from Cairo, and some from the opposite coast of Mount Sinai; even the water which they drink, they receive every morning by boats. The support of this miserable but rich town, is the carriage

of India goods and Mocka-coffee, with some other productions of Yéman, to Cairo; from which place they export some European goods to those countries by the Red Sea.

I embarked on board the vessel before-mentioned, the property of Mr. Petrucci, which was a British coppered transport, given by the English to the late *Captain Pashaw*, while he was governor of Cairo. On account of the immense quantity of rocks in this most dangerous sea, we hired a pilot, for one hundred dollars, to conduct the ship to *Jeddá*. This pilot was an old black man, from the Arabs of Mount Sinai, and had with him a person as assistant, or under-pilot.—At eight in the morning we sailed from Suez, and at ten the next day, anchored in the harbour of *Toor*,* where is a very small village. From Suez to Toor there is no great danger by sea; and all the visitors of Mount Sinai who do not wish to go from Suez by land, come to this place by sea, and afterwards proceed on their journey, to the famous monastery of St. *Catherine.*

This monastery is very extensive, and surrounded by a high and very strong wall. It is inhabited by a considerable number of Greek

* Here we found the *Panther*, of the East India Company, in which Lord Valentia came to Egypt.

monks, who are the only Christians among many thousands of rustic Arabs. There is only a very small gate, at the foot of the wall, about three feet in height, which is always shut up, except on the *Easter-days*, and on the *election* of a *new President*, when they open it for three days successively to treat, very liberally, all the Arabs who go in, with eating, drinking, and clothing their chiefs; being the custom from former times. For their daily communication, they have a window in the centre of the wall, through which they draw up, and let down, all persons, or things, in baskets.

Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to show how these monks contrive to live among so rude a people, and how they can afford the considerable sums for annually treating such an immense number of men, and their animals also.—As *Mohammed* was born in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, and his master, who undertook his education, was one of the monks of the above-mentioned monastery; and as Mount Sinai is considered as a holy one, being the place where *God delivered the Law to Moses*, he (Mohammed) gave to the society of these monks a decree of many favourable privileges, which are allowed to every Christian, as will appear from the following translation of it.

This decree was given in the fourth year of *El-Hejira*, in virtue of which, the monks of Mount Sinai are protected, and live very comfortably amongst the Arabs; they do not pay for their lands but the very trifling sum limited in the decree. They have all their privileges granted by the Grand Signor, and they pay no duty upon their wines, nor upon other articles, at any custom-house in the Turkish dominions. They are quite independent; and, if they have any thing to do with the Grand Signor, they do it directly through the medium of their representative at Constantinople. And they have an immense *income*, from almost every quarter of the globe, where they send missionaries, and have establishments.

A Literal Translation of the Decree of Privileges granted by Mohammed to the Christian Nation.

"Mohammed, Missionary of God, Messenger and Preacher to all mankind, according to the heavenly instructions with which he was charged, has written the present, to be, by the solemnities of God, as a sacred Decree, to legalize the Christian Religion in the eastern and western

extremities of the earth, in its nearest and farthest places, in its known and unknown parts, and amongst its civilized and uncivilized inhabitants:—A document given to them, (the Christians,) as a promise to be attended to, and as a public register; by which he commands his equity to be exalted [his law to be considered sacred] and its preservation to be maintained. Whoever, therefore, is attached to Mohamedanism, and is not regardless of the authority of this Decree, that shall abuse, or object, as an infidel, to the testament herein contained, and violate what I have ordered hereby, shall be counted as a violator of God's testament, a transgressor of his commandments, and slighter of his faith:—Whosoever he may be, king, or prince, or any other person of the faithful Mohamedans.

"I have thus engaged myself, by my giving them this Mandate, containing the following promises and stipulations, that they may have the right to claim them of me, and from all my faithful relations or followers, and which I have bestowed upon them by God's testament and pact; I have placed them under the protection of his Prophets, Apostles, Saints, and favourites of the faithful Mohamedans, of former ages, and of those that are to come; and my own protec-

tion and stipulations are to be considered as primary—[" *And God ordaineth the fulfilment of his Testament, and obedience and performance of the legal duty, to a missionary Prophet, or attending angel of his Divine Majesty.*"]—to preserve their Laws of Justice in all my provinces; to protect them with my horsemen, officers and faithful followers, from every foe, whether they be near or at a distance, besieged or free; to secure them, and defend their churches and places of worship, and the residences of their monks, and places of pilgrimage, wherever they may be, or are found: in a mountain or valley, in a grotto or hut, in a meadow or field, in a village or town; to guard their Religion and wealth, wherever they may be, or are found: on land or at sea, in the east or west; in the same manner by which I would guard myself, my own end [eternal salvation] and my nation, the faithful Mohamedans; to place them under my security against all injury, mischief, violence, and persecution; and, while I am of authority over them, I would support and shelter them, with my own person, and my attendants, followers, and the people of my nation, against every enemy which might afflict me and them together. I therefore bind myself to protect and preserve them from every hurtful action,—

so that it shall not hurt them without first reaching my friends, who are to repel it.—I bind myself to prevent imposition on them, by the charging of taxes, or loans, which shall not be more than what they can afford; and that they shall not be forced or compelled on this subject. No bishop shall be driven out of his bishopric, no Christian shall be forced to reject his religion, no monk shall be turned out of his monastery, no pilgrim shall be detained from his pilgrimage, no hermit shall be molested in his cell, and none of their churches shall be pulled down for the sake of building mosques or houses for the Mohamedans—whoever shall do so, will violate God's testament, and betray his faith, and become disobedient to the Apostle of God. None of the bishops or priests shall be charged with the value of any thing, unless they are willing;—no tribute shall be exacted from the great merchants, or those who possess plenty of wealth; nor from the divers [*for pearls,*] or those who explore the mines of jewels, gold, and silver.—Not more than twelve *darhems* shall be exacted, as *capitation-tax*, from a Christian once in every year, if they are residents and local inhabitants of the place; no capitation or land taxes shall be exacted from a traveller or passenger, who is not known to be one of the

local inhabitants of the country; but those, who are landholders, justly have to pay the due taxes to the king, as others do, (as the Mohamedans,) provided there shall be no imposition or overcharging upon them, but only what they can afford; and none of those who would try to cultivate the land slightly, for the improvement of its fertility and productions, shall be unjustly intreated or oppressed to pay a limited tax as the others (landholders).—No Christian shall be asked to sally forth with the Mohamedan troops, to oppose their enemy, or to keep watch over the neighbourhood, for a tributary person has nothing to do in war concerns; and they are subdued to be tributaries that they may not be troubled, and that the Mohamedans may defend and protect them.—They are not compelled to come into the field together with the Mohamedans, with arms and horses, unless they are willing; and whosoever will become a volunteer on such occasion, his service shall be acknowledged and rewarded with gratitude.—There shall be no enforcement or compulsion used by any Mohamedan upon a Christian; but on the contrary, they shall be challenged with the utmost modesty, and embraced by the wings of mercy; and they shall be sheltered from every mischief and injury, wherever they are, or

may be found. If any of the Christians shall be guilty of a crime, or commit a fault, the Mohamedans are to defend his cause, and to guard him from insolence, and, at the same time, to forbid him from misbehaving; to intercede for the restoration of peace between him and his adversary, or to put an end to the quarrel by making amends.—They (the Christians) are not to be abandoned or rejected,—nay, I have given them the law of God, that they may have and enjoy the same privileges that the Mohamedans have, and that the Mohamedans may observe the rights that the Christians are entitled to, in virtue of this Decree, which must be regarded, and its sanctity upheld.—In conformity to this sacred Mandate, they are entitled to be protected from every injury, and to be introduced into every society, so that the Mohamedans may be their partakers on any occasion.

"With regard to marriage with the Mohamedans, they (the Christians) shall not be thereunto compelled, by unjust force or oppression; and the parents of the girl, shall not be forced to marry her to a Mohamedan, unless they like him and wish to have him;—they shall not be injured if they refuse her to the betrother, or reject the suitor himself; and, therefore, such marriage shall not take place, unless they are willing,

and fully inclined thereunto.—When a Christian woman becomes wife to a Mohamedan, he must gratify her inclination concerning her own religion, and shall not forbid her from exercising it, nor from being instructed by the chiefs of her faith; he shall not compel her to reject her religion, nor threaten her with divorce on that account;—if he shall do so, he will disobey God's commands, and become rebellious against the ordinances of the Apostle of God; and shall be counted as faithless towards His Divine Majesty.

" If the Christians should become in want of assistance, for repairing their churches or hermitages, or for any thing concerning their religion, the Mohamedans are to support and favour them;—*(And you are not to consider this as a participation in their religion, but as mere assistance to their helplessness, and compliance with the ordinances of the Apostle of God, which are made in their favour by the Authority of God and of his Apostle.)*—In time of war, or while the Mohamedans are in a state of hostility with their enemies, no Christian shall be hated or disdained on account of his being resident amongst them (the Mohamedans);—and whoever shall thus treat a Christian, shall be accounted unjust, and obstinate towards the Apostle of God, and disobedient to his will.

[And God saith, " *be a Missionary, or a Guide, or a Mediator.*"]

" These are the terms granted by Mohammed, Apostle of God, to the Christian nation: And, at the same time, he has stipulated with them on their faith and religion, certain conditions, by which they are bound for the fulfilment of their engagement with him: That no Christian shall be an adversary to the Mohamedans, nor unite himself, either publicly or secretly, with any of their enemies, nor receive, or give refuge, at his house or place of worship, to an enemy of the Mohamedans; he shall not give any succour, by lending arms, horses, or men to an enemy, or by advancing him any loan of money; he shall not have any correspondence or communication with the enemy, unless he [the enemy] be at a village or city where the Christians are compelled so to do for their own safety or protection, or for the defence of their religion.

" That they shall not forbid any of the Mohamedans from resting or encamping three days and three nights, with their animals and suite, at any spot where they may be found; and that they shall assign them places for their maintenance without any restraint, and keep off all injury or molestation from them.

" And that if circumstances should need to conceal a Mohamedan at any house of the

Christians, they are to shelter him and receive him within their dwellings, in the safest place assigned for the security of their own lives, so that they may be partners of what should happen to him, while he is under their roofs. They shall not acquaint the enemy with any low or weak state of the Mohamedans; and they shall not fail in performing the duties in which they are bound towards them according to this document. Therefore, whoever of the Christians shall disregard or reject any of these stipulations, which are ratified after the will of the high priests, clergymen, and the Christians at large, shall be expelled from the privileges that are bestowed upon them in pursuance of this sacred testament, which was sanctioned by the divine authority after the faithful promise, for the fulfilment of its contents, by the Apostle of God and by his people, wherever they are or may be found;—thus, the Apostle of God binds himself to fulfil what he promised and has assigned herein to the Christian nation, and, accordingly, the Mohamedans are bound to uphold and to consider this as sacred, and to eternalize its force to the last moment of this world.

"Signed and sanctioned, agreeable to the divine ordinances, by the full stamp of the right hand of Mohammed, Apostle and Missionary of God.

" And the under-writers are the witnesses who bore testimony upon this document, which Mohammed Apostle of God has made with the Christian nation, and in pursuance of which they are bound by certain conditions, as well as entitled to others.

" *Aboo Bakr Elssaddick; Omar ben Elhkttab; Othman ben El-Áffan; Alij ben Abà Taleb; Moáwié ben Safian; Aboo Elderda; Aboo Azren; Aboo Horéra; Abdallah ben Massood; Abdallah ben El-Abbas; Hamzé ben Abd Elmattlab; Fodail; Zèd ben ⊙abeth; Abdallah ben Zèd; Harfooss ben Zèd; Elzabir ben El-Áwoám; Sáád ben Moád; ⊙abeth ben Ckéiss; Asamat ben Zèd; Othman ben Mattoon; Abdallah ben Omar El-Aáss; Eben Rabiáá; Hasan ben ⊙abeth; Jáfár ben Abi Taleb; Eben El-Abbass; Talhá ben Abdallah; Sáád ben Ebadé; Zed ben Arckam; Sahél ben Bydà; Dáwood ben Jobair; Aboo El-Alià; Aboo Harifé ben Osséir; Hashèm ben Ássiyà; Ammar ben Yámeen; Kááb ben Malék; Kááb ben Kááb.* May God bless them all!

" Written, by *Moáwié ben Safian*, after the

dictation of the Apostle of God, on Monday, the last day of the fourth month, of the fourth year of the *Hejirá in Medina;* and *he is* fully satisfied by God's mercy, to be witness of the contents of this document; and praise be to the Lord God Creator of the Universe!"

According to the contents of this decree, not only every Christian who is subject to a Mohamedan government, but even all the European nations, may claim and enjoy these privileges in any Mohamedan country, and need not live under slavery, and submit to the disgraceful and barbarous treatment used towards all persons professing the Christian religion, throughout the Mohamedan dominions. But the fact is, that, as almost all the Christians in Africa and Asia, are involved in ignorance, on account of their liberty being annihilated by the tyranny of the uncivilized and unenlightened governments, and as the original of this document has, for so many centuries, been buried in the possession of the monks of Mount Sinai only, and the only copy of it being in the hands of the high authority of the Ottoman throne,* (who are very glad to keep it

* To shew how I became possessor of a copy of this *document*, I think proper to explain, that while I was at Cairo, I had the pleasure of being acquainted with the missionary of the society of these monks, who was so kind, on my leaving

unknown to the Christians, their subjects, in order to exercise their tyranny upon them as much as possible,) all other Christians are, of course, in darkness respecting the lawful privileges due to them from Mohamedans; and thus, nobody enjoys these privileges but the before-

that city for Suez, as to favour me with a private letter of recommendation to the president of their monastery at Mount Sinai, knowing that on our sailing from Suez we must touch at Toor to take fresh water. Thus, after our arrival at Toor and my introduction to the said president of the Monastery of St. Catherine, I began, out of curiosity, to ask him about their living in that place, &c. &c. upon which question he was so good as to explain to me all the circumstances, and to shew me the original decree of Mohammed, which I saw written in Arabic on *goat skin,* in a very elegant and pure style, equal to that of Alcoran. When I requested him to allow me to take a copy of it, for mere curiosity, he raised many obstacles; at last, with great difficulty, he granted my request; whereupon I took a faithful copy of it.

In the year 1814, when I was at Constantinople, I thought, out of curiosity, to make an inquiry, and to ascertain the fact. After I had tried for some time without gaining any information, it being a thing unknown to the public, and a matter of great delicacy to treat about with the *Turks;* at last I succeeded in obtaining a perusal of the authentic copy of this document, which is a literal duplicate of mine, which I took from the original; they regard it with great solemnity as a most sacred and most holy *relic!* However, I do not pretend to decide whether this document has been submitted to the European world, or not.

mentioned monks, who are known by the title of *Sináyitis*, taking it from the name of Mount *Sinai*.

We had from this place [Toor] excellent fresh water and provisions, with very good fruits and vegetables.

After eight days we sailed, and, on the third day of our departure, we arrived at *Cosseir*, which place, in every way, is more miserable than *Suez*.

This town is more inhabited by the people of Yambó than by Egyptians; the latter import immense quantities of corn from Upper Egypt to *Kená*, from which place they cross the desert to Cosseir, where they sell it to the former, and in return they take India goods and Mocka coffee. These *Embáawes*, or people of Yambó, are established at Cosseir as agents for the merchants of Jedda.

We staid at Cosseir till Mr. A. B. (Mr. Petrucci's secretary) came from Upper Egypt and joined us; at this time our pilot had a very severe attack of *ophthalmia*, and could hardly see. We then wished to get rid of him, and take another; but he refused, and said, that he was answerable for the safety of the ship to her destined place, for he had his man, or assistant, who could act as well as himself. He desired that we might sail exactly at noon, which we did; and he directed the helm-man to keep the sun by his right

shoulder. He did not understand the compass nor any other nautical instructions. We were now crossing the Red Sea from the west to the eastern coast. After sun-set he told his assistant to direct the helm-man to keep the head of the ship by a certain star; and, in short, on the morning of the third day, we descried the land of the Arabian coast.

He then sent his man to watch from the fore-top, and came forward himself and took his seat by the bowsprit, with his eyes covered up or almost blind: he began to ask the man what kind and what shape of mountains he had seen, and in what direction, &c. When the man described to him the land, and the mountains that were in sight, he immediately knew where we were; and began to describe to him, from memory, some rocks with which we were going to meet, and directed him to put the head of the ship by a certain mountain.

At noon to our astonishment we passed by the rocks which he had described, and by many others besides; and at five in the afternoon, we anchored in a small harbour on the coast. This most dangerous method of navigation through that archipelago of rocks, must be left to those people alone; for almost all the rocks are under water; and they possess the chart of that sea

imprinted on their memory; and by their very quick and clear eye, they are able to distinguish the change of colours of the water where the rocks are sunk; they bring the ship between two rocks, where is hardly a passage for a vessel; by passing of which we were sometimes trembling lest the ship should touch one side or the other. They sail during the whole day, and at night they anchor. They prefer to be among the rocks than be at open sea! Thus we went on through all our voyage, and on the 12th day from leaving Cosseir, we arrived at Jedda.

This town is rather large, but very filthy and excessively hot, especially when it is crowded by the pilgrims. They have very bad water; but they receive very good fruits and provisions from the *Tayef*.

We staid at Jedda for some time, till we obtained another pilot, for eighty dollars, to conduct the ship to Mocka. This man was a native of *Sáwaken*, the sea-port of *Sennar*, on the Red Sea.

After we had taken in our water and provision, we left Jedda early in the morning; and when we got rid of the shore, this new pilot put the head of the ship quite towards the sea in order to avoid the Arabian coast; and said, that he intended to take her through the middle of

the channel; but he was also ignorant of all nautical knowledge, even more so than the former.

However, as we could not help it, we were forced to resign to him the ship and our lives together. After he had, during the day, guided himself by the sun, and at night by the stars, on the fourth day we were in the middle of the sea quite becalmed, and without knowing in what latitude or longitude.

This calm lasted, with an excessive heat, for fifteen days, when we were almost perishing for want of water. In the course of the last five days we had nothing but the sediments in the bottom of the casks, which we distributed among us, about two inches in a glass to each person a day; it was as black as ink, stunk most shockingly, and was full of worms. Thus we were compelled to pass all our day by keeping a piece of lead in our mouths, and frequently wetting ourselves with sea-water: we contrived to boil the sea-water and receive its steam; but finding that all our attempts were useless, and that we were almost half-dead for want of eating also, we resolved to quit the ship and adventure with the boats towards the coast; but when we came to inquire from our pilot which coast was the nearest, and he could not tell us, we began to deplore our perilous situation.

On the same evening, while we were deter mined to leave the ship and proceed in the boats towards the Abyssinian coast, the Almighty and most merciful Creator, to our relief and joy, sent a breeze to carry us with the ship towards the said coast. We sailed, during the whole night, under uncertainty of the distance from the coast of Abyssinia: however, our pilot said, that there was a large island, called *Dahlak*, on the Abyssinian coast, from which we might get some fresh water and provisions; and he supposed that we might very probably meet with it. On the next morning we were in sight of a very flat shore, which we thought was the island before mentioned; but, to our misfortune and disappointment, when we came near to it, our pilot said that it was not, and that it was, therefore, better for us to return towards the Arabian coast; because this island was quite a desert, and nothing to be found upon it.

While we were thus deploring our unhappy state, we found ourselves with the ship (to render our misfortunes worse) upon a rock, and the helm was stopped two or three times, and the keel of the ship was grating upon the rock.

Fortunately there was but a very light breeze and no swelling, and we had nothing on board but the ballast.

We immediately furled the sails, cast anchor, and sent a boat with some men to sound the water beyond the ship; where, at a few yards distance, they found a good anchorage.

Upon this discovery we were rather relieved, and encouraged to throw some of the ballast over-board; and thus in a few hours after, thank God, we were out of danger, and lay at anchor. We now wished to attempt a landing on this desert island, under the hope of finding some *well*, or some depôt of rain; or else to try to dig there for some fresh water.—When we landed we found it was a rocky island, and nothing upon it but an immense variety of very beautiful shells. On our walking towards the centre, we saw a quantity of birds flying from the middle of the island, upon which sight we entertained a hope of finding water; but, when we reached the place, we found nothing but a few spots of red mud, moistened with about an inch of stinking water. However, we still hoped that by digging in those muddy places, perhaps we might find more and better water; but, to our distress, four or five inches under the mud there was nothing but a hard rock. On finding ourselves thus unhappily disappointed, we had no other chance but to collect some of the mother-of-pearl shells, (which were here in great

quantity,) and passing them over the surface of the mud, pressing it or sinking the shells in it, in order to receive into them a little of that filthy water, which we dropped into our mouth to extinguish the flame of thirst.

We spent the whole of the evening in this miserable way, till each of us was enabled to collect about half-a-pint of this nasty water; and then we left the island and immediately sailed towards the Arabian coast. Having had a fine breeze, on the next evening we were in sight of an island under the coast of Arabia, called *Cámáran*, where afterwards we anchored and staid eight days; we had very excellent water and good salted fish. After having revived ourselves, we left this blessed island, and on the third day arrived at *Mocka*, where we delivered our dispatches to the British agent, (a *Banyan from Guzerat*, named *Davaji*, son of *Goori)* and remained for some time, till we got some goods oń board, to be carried to Suez.

This town is of a circular shape and smaller than Jedda, but has a fine appearance from the sea.

On account of the war with the *Wahhabies*, there was great scarcity of provisions, especially of corn; and they had very bad water also.

Having engaged another pilot to conduct the ship to Jedda, we left Mocka early in the

morning; and in the evening we anchored at the island of Camaran again, from which place we made a good provision of that excellent water, and steered for Jedda. Again, to our misfortune, we met with a contrary wind, in consequence of which, after a few days, we were obliged to take shelter at the island of *Hasseer*, on the Arabian coast, where we staid eight days.

This island being quite a desert, and without any spring upon it, we began to fear the want of water; at length the wind changed, and on the 29th day after our departure from Mocka, we arrived in safety at Jedda.

It being the Mohamedan fast of *Ramadan*, we could not get a pilot who would go on board of a Christian ship. The master of our vessel was an Englishman by the father's side, named P. M. and, I think, he once held the rank of midshipman on board some man-of-war; having had a little practice of the Red Sea, on our voyage from Suez to Mocka, he undertook to conduct the ship from Jedda to Suez without a pilot.

We left Jedda with a favourable wind, which on the third day ceased, and we were for four days quite becalmed.

On the following night a tremendous storm arose from the south, accompanied with lightning, thunder, and hail, which, although the di-

rection of the wind was favourable, put us into great confusion; and afterwards reduced us to a state of the deepest sorrow and misery, in consequence of the following circumstances.

We had on board but two *compasses*, one of which had its glass broken, and on account of the heat of the climate and the fall of rain, the dial was rendered concave, and stiffened across the needle-box, pointing the north by the head of the ship, while the other compass pointed the west. Our course was then north; and on the next morning, it being quite dark, and the tempest not having ceased, the helms-man was so stupid, as not to observe the difference between the two compasses; and went by the wrong one, thinking that he was in the right course [the north], while we were sailing towards the west.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning, being still as dark as night, I went on deck, out of curiosity, to see what could occasion such darkness at that hour of the day; and it happened that, I looked at the compass, which pointed west; I then went and looked at the other, and saw that it stood north. In consequence of this accidental discovery, we were saved from a most dreadful shipwreck; for a short time after we had changed our course, the weather became clear, and we saw, by the stern of

the ship, an immense rock, which a little before, was just by the head: this joy lasted with us but a few hours; for the same evening the wind fell, and between the hours of eight and nine, while every body was in bed, we heard an alarm from the ship's company, "*that we were lost.*" Upon these dreadful cries, every one jumped out of bed to the deck, where we saw a tremendous sea, breaking on a rock, about a mile from us; and that the strength of the current and the waves was precipitating the ship very rapidly towards it. All our attempts were in vain; and, in a few minutes, we dreadfully struck upon the rock. This rock was about two miles in circumference, and three or four feet under water.

I have, indeed, not heart to detail our melancholy state at that time; but as I have begun, I must describe it as briefly as possible. When the ship received the first blow, the breakers carried her to a little distance upon the rock, where, in a short time after, she went to pieces, and we were washed away from her. At the same time a tremendous wind arose again, which increased the sea very much. We contrived to get hold of the wrecks, but every time that we reached them, the waves drove us to a distance from them.

We had on board two boats, the largest of

which, luckily, was put to sea, while we were attempting to save the ship, and which afterwards was the only means of our safety, being fastened with a long rope at the stern of the ship. The other was thrown overboard when the ship struck the rock; and unfortunately, a part of the hulk came upon her and crushed her to pieces. Finding that there was no other hope left for saving our lives, but by the first boat, we wished to secure her from the waves in the middle of the rock; but, on account of our being entirely exhausted, and that our hands and feet were lacerated, we could not succeed; and were obliged to give up, resigning our lives to the care of the Creator, by getting hold of the mast of the ship, and driving with it to the centre of the rock, where the waves were less violent.

We passed the whole night in this most miserable state, embracing the mast, and the rest of our body was floating in the water. The next morning, when the wind and the sea were calm, we found ourselves upon a dry rock, and the boat was sunk into a hollow, at one end of the rock.

The nature of this rock is harder than flint, and no instrument can take effect upon it; it forms the shape of a tree growing in the sea, and is composed of different fine colours, as red, green,

yellow, blue, white, &c. &c.; but round it, no bottom can be found for anchorage at all.—The top of it is composed of very sharp edges, like blades of razors laid one by the other, by which our feet and hands were horribly cut.

On our looking round the horizon, and finding that there was no land in sight, nor any sail, we began to expect our total destruction, and to deplore our melancholy fate. After we had waited till mid-day in the most anxious hope of seeing some sail passing by, or at a distance, some of our seamen thought to examine whether the boat was entirely unfit or not; and, fortunately, the damage was in two places only. Upon this we encouraged ourselves to throw the water out of her,—and some of us walked toward the remains of the ship, where they found *three oars*, and some pieces of sails, with a few other things, which were useful to us in those perilous circumstances. In short, after we had succeeded in getting the boat out of the hollow where she was sunk, we stopped the leaks with some pieces of the sails, and threw ourselves on board of her, resigning our lives to the care of the Almighty. We directed our course towards the east, where, we supposed the Arabian coast was the nearest—we were twenty-one persons who left the rock at about two P. M.

During this our most distressing and perilous adventure, exposed to the mercy of the waves, we were employed in rowing and in diminishing the water, which was springing very rapidly from the leaks, and never expected that we should reach the shore in safety.

At last, Providence having caused the wind to be in our favour, at about two in the next morning we discovered a white sail, and a little after, we were consoled by seeing the land. The sail we saw was a fishing boat, the people of which were so kind as to take some of us on board, and relieved us with some fresh water and dates. They informed us, that we were opposite to *Yambò*, within about ten miles; that the distance between the shore and the rock, where we were wrecked, was about fifty miles; and that, although it was not the time yet of their going in, they would carry us to the town. We expressed great obligation for their kindness, which, afterwards, we found out, was not intended as a pious act, but with a view of receiving a grand reward from the Governor, for having picked up for him a set of *very rich Christians*, while we were in possession of nothing.

On our landing at *Yambò*, we were searched by some officers, or rather a set of *robbers*, who,

although they found that we had nothing but our wetted clothes, brought us into the presence of the governor, who was an old *black slave.*

The first question he put to me was, " if we had many dollars."

I said, " Your people, who searched us, must know what we have—we do not possess any thing but these our wet clothes, and that miserable old boat which sunk immediately after our landing; we expect that you will be so kind as to convey us to Suez, where we shall pay all the expenses, and assure you of our gratitude by a present."

He gave no answer to this, but asked where we were wrecked, and what kind of goods we had on board, and who I was?

On telling him that we had some coffee, and India goods; and that we did not know the name of the rock upon which we were wrecked, and that I was merely as under-supercargo, and interpreter, he ordered us to be put in prison; and immediately dispatched several boats to look after the remains of our ship.

Upon this inhuman treatment, I burst into tears, and said to him, " Have you no fear of God to treat us in this way, while we are at your mercy in the most wretched and pitiable state?—We do not ask any thing of you but

your assistance in selling our boat, to enable us to provide for our passage to Suez."

Notwithstanding the many objections he made to the sale of the boat, and our conveyance, he confined us for five days in a most miserable stable, giving us, once a day, some very bad bread and water, and some very good dates only.

On the sixth day, when the boats that he had sent to find out the place of our shipwreck, returned with some pieces of copper, iron, and part of the hulk which they found on the rock, [whose name was *El-Sabáát*,] he sent for me, and gave me leave to sell our boat; I was offered for it one hundred and twenty dollars; but when I came to receive the money, the purchaser was ordered not to pay me, and I was asked to go to the governor's house; where I went, and found that all my claims were in vain. In a word, with great difficulty I recovered sixty dollars from him (the governor) instead of one hundred and twenty that I was offered by the people: I immediately went to look for a vessel for Suez, to get us out of this infernal place; for the country and its inhabitants are the worst on the face of the earth.

On finding that there were no ships for *Suez* we embarked for *Cosseir*. During this last pas-

sage, misfortune still persecuted us: we met with some robbers who wished to seize the vessel at night, while we were at anchor in the harbour of *Mòwaylah*, when we were nearly wrecked again; we had a scarcity of food for eight days, when we lived upon some *wheat* and *lentils*, boiled with water only; and, in short, after twenty-five days, we arrived at Cosseir almost dead, though from *Yambo* to this place is only four or five days passage!

We staid a week at Cosseir till we were a little relieved from our miserable state, and the caravan for *Keṇá* was ready. We hired some camels, and at noon proceeded on our journey through a mountainous desert.

Unfortunately, the Arabs of our caravan being at war with some other tribes, they changed the roads to avoid meeting with them. They went for about five hours in a S. S. W. direction, when we halted at the foot of a mountain to get dinner and to feed the camels. They made this unusual halting hour intentionally to relieve the animals, on account of a dangerous and difficult summit of the mountain which they were to cross.

At six in the evening we started, and at seven we began to ascend the said summit, which was very steep, and the road, or rather path, only

about two feet wide. On one side there was a high granite mountain, and on the other, a tremendous perpendicular precipice; besides, through this narrow passage, we met, now and then, with some masses of granite, half sunk in the way, which rendered it more dangerous; there was hardly a space of twelve inches for a foot path, between the main mountain and these masses; but the most frightful and dangerous passage was, when this foot-path was sometimes hewn at the outer side of these intercepting masses, where there was nothing but the limited edge of that most tremendous precipice. However, at last, by one o'clock in the morning we descended, in safety, to a fine plain valley, where we reposed till noon.

Here the chiefs of our Arabs, on account of the scarcity of water in our way, held a council concerning the safest and shortest road for the caravan; for each person had no more than his two leather bags full of water, which would be enough for the supply of the three days, the usual journey from Cosseir to Kená. They finally determined to proceed through a road leading S. W. (our right route was W.) We travelled, during the whole night, through a plain and some parts hilly desert.

On the next morning, we found ourselves in

a fine ancient road, about thirty feet broad, cut quite perpendicularly through the granite mountains.

On the tops of the highest mountains through this road, I saw the remains of some towers, which, I suppose, were formerly erected for telegraphical communications between the coast of the Red Sea and Egypt. Their appearance was of a brownish colour, but as they were too high for the sight, I could not distinguish whether they were built of unburned bricks, or of granite.

The appearance of the mountains here indicates great richness of mines. I inquired about the name of this interesting spot; but, to my surprise, I found that not one of our Arabs knew the place, nor any of them had been here before; and that they all were at a loss for not knowing where this road leads to. They were much frightened that their enemies would seize them, or we should become in want of water, which is not to be found in this desert. Notwithstanding each person in the caravan had possessed one day's supply of water, there was a terrible grumbling, and difference of opinions, whether we should return back, or proceed on. However, at noon, we came to an extensive valley, where we halted, at the northern side, near to

some *Senna* shrubs.—Here some of the Arabs went on the tops of the hills, to look whether they could recognize any of the mountains which they knew.

After we were reposed, I wished to gratify my curiosity by taking a walk round this valley. I gave one piaster *(about tenpence)* to one of our Arabs, to lend me his horse, and to walk with me round the valley, a distance of about six miles. This valley was nearly square: the ground was sandy, except the edges by the foot of the mountains, were muddy, or rather lined by beds of torrents, which apparently had run there; and in consequence of which, the senna shrubs are grown almost all around the valley. The mountains surrounding this valley are from 3 to 400 feet in height, or, perhaps, more. In some parts there were several square caves,* hewn in the granite rock at the foot of the mountain, and all were nearly of the same size. I went into some of them, where I found nothing but some broken pieces of red earthenware, and some birds' bones. I found no inscription whatever in any of those where I

* These caves are somewhat like those which I saw afterwards, in the mountain behind Assiût, and in that of Corné, opposite Thebes.

have been. On my coming out of these caves, I observed to my guide, that this valley, it seems, in former time, was inhabited, as I suppose all these excavations have been made for habitations; and, therefore, the people who lived here could not live without water. His answer to me was, (according to the common superstition of the present ignorant people of Egypt,) "that, as all the ancient people were magicians, they probably might have had their water brought from the Nile, by the power of magic." On hearing this, I had nothing to reply, but laughed at him, and proceeded towards our caravan.

On approaching the south east corner of the valley, my horse began to gallop, and I could not make him stop until he brought me to the bottom of the corner, where he stopped by himself, and began to neigh before a very deep crevice, or rather a cut through the granite rock, quite perpendicularly from the top to the bottom of the mountain; he wished to rush in, but I could not get on with him, on account of the passage being full of large blocks of granite.

At last my guide reached me, very angry, thinking that I had galloped his horse on purpose. However, I left the horse with him, and wished to go in the cut to satisfy my curiosity, and to see what was the reason of

the horse bringing me there. The man refused to wait with the horse, and told me, that if I should go in, he would leave me alone, and return to our halting place.

After I had given him another piaster, and persuaded him, with many stories, that perhaps through this casual inspiration of the horse, we might find a *treasure*, (as they in general believe, that all the European travellers' object, is to search for *treasures*,) I began to enter this most amazing crevice, by ascending one block and descending the other, which were throughout the passage. They were of different shapes and sizes, from about five to ten feet in diameter; and they are of the same kind of the green coloured granite mountain, from which they were cut. The crevice is very regularly of the same width, which was about three yards; and its depth or distance into the mountain perhaps more than an hundred yards; it was so neatly cut through the rock, quite perpendicularly, from the tip top to the bottom, that it looks as if there were two smooth walls standing close one by the other. This is certainly not an accidental cleft, but a work of human labour.

On reaching the bottom of this cut, I found, to my surprising joy, a basin or reservoir of fine limpid water, of about six yards in circum-

ference, and two feet deep; its bottom was of fine white sand, and the water was most excellent.

On account of the masses of granite, I could not see my guide to make him a sign to come in; and, when I began to call out loudly to him, I heard the report of my voice, sounding through the crevice like a bell. He did hear me, but would not believe that I had found some water there.

At last I came out, and told him to go in, and, at the same time, I gave him the *Zamzamiè*,* to fill it with water for the horse.—I took the dear horse from him, and began to kiss him; and I am sure that the horse must have been there before, or he must have smelled the water. The man came out of the crevice quite rejoiced, and returned me the last piaster which I gave him before I went into the crevice; and he immediately ran towards the caravan to apprize them of the water-place.

I gave some water from the zamzamiè to the horse, and waited at the spot till the caravan came and made their provision of that excellent water. They expressed great thanks, and wished to know who I was? On giving an account of

* A small leather bag carried always by the side of the saddle.

our shipwreck, and of the state of distress in which I was, they shewed much sorrow; and the chief of the caravan took out of his pocket, the ten piasters which I had paid him for my passage, and presented them to me, saying, "This is a very little reward for the *treasure* you have discovered, which is not only being a great relief to us on this occasion, but it will be for the benefit of thousands in following time."

At first I thought this spot of water was a reservoir of rain; but, when I went into the crevice again, I found it was a spring, for the more water we took, the more it sprung out; and I observed that the ground underneath the blocks of granite was covered with grass.—I have no doubt that this spring loses itself by an unperceived running through the sand, at the foot of the mountain around the valley, where the senna shrubs grow.

At eight o'clock in the evening we started; and, after two hours, when we came out of the valley, we fell in with two roads; one was S. W. and the other N.W.

We proceeded on through the latter during the whole night, when, after crossing a very rough mountain, we found ourselves, by six in the morning, in the midst of the main road leading to Kená.

Here we became all joyful, and at noon halted in a desert plain, about ten hours from Kená. At midnight we started, and, by six in the morning, came to the extremity of the desert; and we had only to cross the cultivated lands to reach Kená.

I regret indeed saying, that I have not sufficient terms to describe the delightful view of the richness of cultivation on both banks of the Nile, as far as the eye could reach; the grand sight of that noble river running through; the interesting prospects all around the horizon; the magnificent view of the *Temple of Dendara* on the opposite side, and the odoriferous smell of flowers facing us by the air; which (although I am a native of the country) really appeared to me as if I was entering a new world!

At noon we reached Kená, where I remained a week. Here, I understood, the Mamlúks were in possession of almost all Upper Egypt, except Kená, and a few other towns northward on the east bank of the Nile, were under the authority of Mohammed Alij Pashaw, (the present Governor of Egypt,) who had appointed a great tyrant, of the name of *Ahmed Agá Láz*, to govern Kená. I proceeded from Kená down by the river to Jerjá, Ehkmim, Manshijé, Tahttá, and Assiùtt, where I took up my lodging at a private house,

to wait for the caravan, which was to go secretly to Cairo; for on account of the war between the Mamlúks and the Pashaw, no one could go publicly, either by the river or by land.

The province of Assiùtt was under the command of *Ibrahim Bey El-Kebier*, or *the Great*, who was the oldest one among the Beys, and who had been forty years Governor of Cairo.

As I had no money to carry me to Cairo, and no clothes but those which I wore,* I was induced to present a petition to his first financier, *George Johary*,† (to whom I had had the good fortune of being introduced before my going to the Red Sea, while he was detained at Cairo by the Pashaw,) who was so kind as to relieve me by 300 piasters, about £10.

Here I heard the return of Mohammed *Elfy*

* Since our shipwreck to the time of my arrival at Assiùt, I was in the utmost distress. I had no more than one shirt, and very miserable clothes on: when the shirt was dirty, I was obliged to take it off, wash it, and wait till it was dry to put it on again. I had a few piasters in my pocket, besides the ten piasters returned to me by the chief of the caravan of Cosseir, which were a great relief to me at that time! And, through all this time, till my arrival at Cairo, I was my own cook, my own servant, my own laundress, and my own taylor!

† The family of *Johary* had a great name among the Copts in Egypt, and was well known to every body for the great benevolence they have always done.

Bey from England, of his seizure by his brethren (the other *Beys*), and of his natural death, under the following circumstances:—Perhaps it is well known to the world, that the Mamlùks were the rightful masters of Egypt, since their establishment in the year 784 of El-Hejira, corresponding to 1382, A.D.—They were originally slaves imported from Circassia and Georgia by the *Kurds** who took possession of Egypt after the decline of the *Khalifes;* and when they (the Mamlùks) became a considerable number, they rebelled against their masters, drove them out of the kingdom, and took possession of the throne of Egypt. In time, they increased by an immense importation of slaves of their own countrymen, till they became so powerful, as to extend their dominions over a great part of Africa, Syria, and Arabia; and they had established their monarchy under the title of *Chárâksé* or *Circassians.* They reigned for about 120 years by themselves; but, as they were derived from *several houses*, they never were happy nor sincere one with the other. They had thirty-nine different kings on the

* The *Kurds* are a nation in Armenia about the Gordian mountains, or *Kurdestan.*

throne of Egypt, the first of whom was Sultan *Barckoock*; and the last was *Ckánessooh El-Ghoori*, who was the cause of the dominion of the Turks over Syria, Arabia, Palestine and Egypt. In the year 920 of El-Hejira, when Sultan *Selim I.*, who is called "*the Conqueror*," was at war with Persia, Ckánessooh El-Ghoori made an alliance with the King of Persia against him. Providence having assisted Selim, he subdued Persia, conquered Syria, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt; when, on Thursday, the 25th of *Sháában*, 923, of El-Hejira, A.D. 1517, he entered the city of Cairo, and Ckánessooh El-Ghoori fled to *Mardge Dabegh*, in the interior of *Palestine*.

Sultan Selim having thus destroyed the Circassians' power from the above-mentioned kingdoms, those who remained in Egypt were willing to become his tributaries: he then stipulated with them, that they never should have the title of King any more, but they might be entitled to bear the title of Bey; that the civil government of Egypt should remain in their hands by paying him a certain sum annually; that a Pashaw of his own should reside in the citadel of Cairo with military forces, to administer political government, and to receive the stipulated

annual payment; and that another Pashaw should reside at Alexandria, for the convenience of the royal fleet, and sea communications, &c.

They went on on this footing till a few years before the French took Egypt.

Notwithstanding the mean and limited state in which they were placed by Sultan Selim and his successors, they never lived in peace nor quietness; but, on the contrary, the spirit of *jealousy*, *ambition*, and *disunion* among themselves was, and always has been, the *cause of their ruin*. They frequently were at war one with the other, and always contrived to destroy each other. Each Bey pretended to be the absolute chief, and none of them ever was! At the time that one of them ascended the throne of Cairo, his orders, perhaps, were not obeyed farther than *Assiùtt* or *Jerja*; and the rest of Upper Egypt was very often divided, and governed by several other disobedient Beys.

Notwithstanding their severe destruction by the French under Buonaparte, they never wished to unite and support themselves against the Turks, after the French were driven out of Egypt* by the English; but every great Bey

* Since the French were expelled from Egypt, the Mamlùks had only once reascended the throne of Cairo, and that was for a very short period too; for *Ibrahim Bey El-Kebier*, (who

was encamped alone with his followers, at one part of Egypt, plundering the poor inhabitants, and destroying the happiness of the country!

Egypt at this period was in a most wretched and miserable state. Ibrim, Essùan, and Essna, with their districts, were in the hands of *Ossman Bey Hassan*, a slave and successor of the family of *Hassan Bey El-Jeddáwi*.*—The districts from

was the oldest, and pretended to be the first, as he was before,) *Othman Bey Bardeesi*, successor to Múrad Bey, (who pretended the same, on account of his master was equal to Ibrahim Bey,) and several other Beys,* who had the same pretension, could not agree together. At this time, Egypt being afresh put to its former *Rules*, (though in a state of confusion) under the authority of the Ottoman Porte, *Kosrúf Pashaw*, the late Captain Pashaw, was the third governor, since the Grand Visir's leaving Egypt, who had been appointed for Cairo; and *Mohammed Alij*, the present Pashaw, was one of the officers employed in the service, who had just been promoted. He availed himself of the opportunity of this disagreement among the Beys, and succeeded in driving them out of Cairo, by raising all the Turks on foot, and surprising them unexpectedly; at which conflict Bardeesi Bey fell a victim.

* *Hassan Bey El-Jeddáwi* was a great warrior, and, at the same time, an intriguer: on account of his envy to *Alij Bey El-Kebier*, or *the Great*, who then ascended the throne of Cairo, and had banished him to Jedda, from which place he assumed the title of Jeddáwi; he (Hassan Bey) disguised himself by shaving off his beard, and effected his escape to Russia. He

* Elfy Bey was out of this dispute,

Armant to Jerja were in the hands of *Selim Bey Máhrámji*, and some other minor Beys, slaves of *Múrad Bey*.—Bardees, Ehkmim, Mamshijè, and their districts, were under the authority of Shahèen Bey Bardeesi (successor of Othman Bey Bardeesi), and different minor Beys.—Tahttà, Assiútt, Manfalútt, and their districts, were, as I said before, under the command of *Ibrahim Bey El-Kebier*, or *the Great*, a slave and successor of *Alij Bey El-Kebier*.*—The provinces

had recourse to the bounty of the Empress Catharine, to succour him with an expedition against his rival, *Alij Bey*, which she did, and the expedition came by sea as far as St. John D'Acra.

* *Alij Bey El-Kebier* was a very great and celebrated man. On his ascending the throne of Egypt, the Mamlúks began to flourish very much; and, if he had lived longer, he would have restored their dominion to its former extent and independency. He coined money in his own name, and not in that of the *Grand Signor*. He refused to pay the stipulated annual tribute to the Court of Constantinople; he turned out of the citadel of Cairo and of Alexandria, the two Pashaws appointed by the Grand Signor; and he moved with an expedition towards Palestine and Syria, where he had made great conquests! But as the spirit of envy and ambition was the cause of their destruction to the present time, the Court of Constantinople, being very much alarmed at the progress of Alij Bey, and having met with many obstacles in trying to get rid of him, thought proper to countenance Hassan Bey El-Jeddáwi and some other Beys, to destroy his power.

of Mallawi, Menia, Baniswéf, were in the hands of *Soleman Bey El-Jerjawi*,* one of Múrad Bey's slaves.

The provinces of Fáyúm, Terrané, Béhérá, as far as Damanhoor, and all those districts about two days distance from Alexandria, were under the authority of *Mohammed Bey Elfy*, or *Elfy Bey*, a slave and successor of *Mohammed Bey*, surnamed *Aboo El-Dahab*, or *the Father of Gold*.† And Alexandria, Rossetta, Deltá, Da-

* *Soleman Bey El-Jerjawi* was a brave soldier, but of a sanguinary disposition. He was known by the title of *Ráyáháhó*, which signifies, "*Let him repose*," or "*Give him his repose*." This *word* was the only order which he used to give for beheading a man, without the least, or hardly any cause! They said, that he was always much pleased in seeing the head of a man jumping, by one single blow, off his body! And that his common amusement was to go about, with his sword drawn in his hand, cutting off camels', horses', oxen's, and asses' heads in one blow only! The death of *this wretched brute* was very much adapted to his taste. At the battle of Mallawi, against the present Pashaw of Egypt, a shot took off his scull; and while they were making good their retreat, they put him upon a gun carriage, when, by the motion of it, his brain came out of his head, and he had his good *repose* also.

† *Mohammed Bey Aboo Eldahab* was a very ambitious man, but of great generosity; in consequence of which he was surnamed "*The Father of Gold*." He went with an expedition to St. John D'Acra against *Omar El-Dahér*, whose family was the rightful rulers of Palestine. After having conquered that

miatta, and Cairo, with their districts, were under the authority of *Mohammed Aly Pashaw*, the present governor, or rather king, of all Egypt.*

country *Jazzar Pashaw*, who was one of his slaves, succeeded to the government of St. John d'Acra; and Elfy Bey succeeded to his dominions in Egypt.

The word "*Elfy*" signifies "*thousandly*," or "*of a thousand.*" Imitating his master's acts of generosity, his common gift to the poor was always *one thousand paras*,—that is, about *one pound sterling*. He had, besides, purchased with his own money one thousand Circassian slaves. On this account he was surnamed *Mohammed Bey Elfy*, or *Elfy Bey*. His first name was *Mohammed Bey Mohammed*, bearing the name of his master as a surname.

* Egypt, in our modern time, was never under the controul of *one person alone*, but the present governor, *Mohammed Aly Pashaw*, whose orders are obeyed, perhaps, as far as the *Cataracts!* This extraordinary man is a native of *Cavála* on the coast of Romania, opposite the island Tasso; and came to Egypt as a common soldier, where he raised himself to the throne, in some way like *Buonaparte*, by the force of his sword. He at first, after the Grand Vizir left Egypt, was employed in the Beys' service, when he succeeded in making that revolution (mentioned in my note page lxii), and drove them out of Cairo. Then, as there was a legal Pashaw appointed by the Porte (*Kùsrùf Pashaw*, the late High Admiral), he (Mohammed Aly) began to manage, underhand, all the chiefs of the troops, till he created a general conspiracy amongst the soldiery, and compelled *Kùsrùf Pashaw* to escape to Damiatta; from which place he was brought again to Cairo, by Mohammed Aly's tricks, re-proclaimed Pashaw, and on the next morning was obliged to quit the throne and run away to Ro-

Elfy Bey being a great warrior, and possessed of considerable talents, was always at war with Mohammed Aly, whom he frequently defeated, and who dreaded him more than the whole body of the other Mamlúks. Notwithstanding he (Elfy Bey) was exerting himself, in this way, for

setta, thence to Alexandria! *Hkorshùd Pashaw* (the late Grand Vizir) being the next legal one, who was appointed by the Porte for Alexandria, according to the former rules of Egypt, left that city and went to Cairo, where, in a few weeks after, he was likewise compelled by the conspirators to take refuge in the citadel and begin firing upon the city. Mohammed Aly, observing that this was just the thing he was very anxiously looking for, availed himself of the opportunity to induce the inhabitants to rise up and cry against the Pashaw, who at last found the best way was to capitulate, and quit the citadel of Cairo for Alexandria. Meanwhile the Porte having heard of all these disorders, sent a *new* Pashaw named *Sàyèd Aly*. He arrived at Alexandria safe; but on his way to Cairo, Mohammed Aly was ready to stop him at once, and shewed him the way *to the grave* instead of the throne! Mohammed Aly having now bribed the *ùlàmà*, or chiefs of religion, who hold the highest ranks, (from superstition,) and are the leaders of the inhabitants of Cairo, nay, of all Egypt, he obtained testimonials of their approbation of his being the only person who was fit to govern the country; whereupon the Porte of Constantinople was obliged to acknowledge him as Pashaw, and sent him the *Firmans of Pashalik*. He thus ascended the throne of Egypt, and has been ever since almost an *absolute king!* He cannot either read or write; and he consults nobody, trusting wholly to his own mind and judgment!

the restoration of the dominion of the Mamlúks, yet his brethren, the other Beys, hated him, (though he was a great defence in shaking Mohammed Aly off them, by continual hostilities he had with him,) and would never unite together to recover their legitimate throne, which they might have shared. At last, seeing no hope of assistance was expected from the part of his said brethren, and that Mohammed Aly's strength was daily increasing, he resolved to follow the example of his ancestor (Hassan Bey El-Jeddáwi, who went once to Russia), and have recourse for help to the bounty of Great Britain. Thus he left his camp (which consisted of about 2,000 Mamlúks and 12,000 Bedouins) under the care of his favourite slave and adopted son,* Shaheen Bey, and profited by the opportunity of the last rupture between England and Turkey, to come over, and to apply to the generosity of the British

* Elfy Bey had *no issue*, nor did he keep a wife for six months together. In order to subdue the Bedouins, and have them entirely under his authority, he was politic enough to follow a *very simple system*, of marrying their daughters; and whenever he was tired of one, he divorced her, giving her some property, and married another!—so that all the chiefs of the tribes under his command were most anxious to offer their daughters, in order to obtain the honour of being *fathers-in-law* to Elfy Bey.

government. But, for the misfortune of the people of Egypt, the expedition under General Frazer did not reach Alexandria till three months after his death.

On his return from England to Egypt, his brethren being jealous of him, especially when they heard that Great Britain was to send an expedition to enable him to recover the throne of Egypt, thought (according to their barbarous judgment) the best way was, to get rid of him, for fear that he should possess the throne by himself; and so, after he had left Alexandria for Rosetta, and proceeded up the Nile to join his camp, they made an atrocious arrangement with Mohammed Aly, who was very glad of it, and sent a number of Turks and Arabs with a few Mamlúks, (who kept themselves behind in order to shew that his brethren had no concern in the plot,) and surprised him, or rather seized his boat, at a place about the half-way from Rosetta to Cairo, called *Negilá*, where he was to land, and to proceed westward a day's journey to meet his camp. Luckily, a few hours previously to the seizer's arrival, he was asked by the chiefs of the villages on the opposite bank, to honour them with a visit; and thus, while the enemies were occupied in pillaging the immense property which they found in his boat, he had

time enough to escape through Delta to the eastern mountains, where he took refuge and remained some weeks with a tribe of Arabs, till he was enabled to rejoin his camp.

His brethren, observing that they had failed in their malicious plan, and had no doubt of his success by the assistance of Great Britain, wished to enter into a flattering correspondence with him. This he refused, and made his preparation, and marched with his camp from the neighbourhood of Alexandria towards Cairo; yet, with great anxiety, he was looking for the arrival of General Frazer.

Mohammed Aly, on hearing of Elfy Bey's movement, was very much alarmed, and wrote to the Beys in Upper Egypt (as they had expressed their wishes for the destruction of Elfy Bey) to unite with him against Elfy Bey; promising them a great part of Egypt, and to remain always a good friend with them. They did not refuse at the moment, nor did they accept the offer immediately; but they left the matter suspended until they saw which party was likely to succeed. However, Providence having promised the shining of Mohammed Aly's fortune, poor Elfy Bey, on his way with the expedition to Cairo, was taken ill in the morning, and

died in the evening of the same day!* His successor, *Shaheen Bey*, not being active enough to carry on the plan of his master, (though he was

* The death of Elfy Bey was suspected to be by *poison*, as he doubted it himself too. On that day he was in perfect health, and after having reviewed his camp in the morning, and ordered it to proceed on, he returned to his tent to breakfast, and then to follow the camp. After breakfasting, he felt himself discomposed, whereupon he immediately began to drink some milk with his *antipoisoning cup*,* but on finding he derived no relief from it, he ordered the camp to halt. Towards the evening, observing that there was no hope for his recovery, he called his favourite slave and adopted son, *Shaheen Bey*, and created him his successor. He recommended him to follow his example, by preserving his relation with Great Britain, and to have recourse to her protection on any occasion of distress; not to unite with the other Beys of Upper Egypt; not to believe the word of the Pashaw of Cairo, nor of the Turks in general; to keep up the name and reputation of the house Elfy† by a sincere union and good understanding between him and his brethren (of the same house;) and not to lose courage on his death, nor the hope of the arrival of the British army which was expected. He afterwards gave him a bill of several thou-

* All the Beys, and almost every great man among the Turks, on account of their not being sincere one with each other, use a *cup* made of *rhinoceros' horn*, which they consider as an *antidote* against poison; and they always carry with it a bit of *bezoar stone*. Whenever they feel the least suspicion of any thing they had ate or drank, they immediately fill the *cup* with milk or water, rub the *bezoar stone* in it, and drink it. Some of them always drink their beverage out of that *cup*.

† All the family or followers of Elfy Bey are known as the *bravest soldiers* amongst the Mamlúks.

a brave soldier,) thought it advisable to return with the camp to the neighbourhood of Alexandria again.

On the lamented death of our hero, Mohammed Aly, of course, was very happy; and, without losing time, he marched, with the same expedition which was in preparation to oppose Elfy Bey, against the other Beys in Upper Egypt, where I was then at Assiútt.

Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, on hearing of Mohammed Aly's movement, wrote to Shaheen Bey Elfy to unite with him and the other Beys of Upper Egypt, and to march with his camp towards the south; when at the same time, they would move towards the south, and so (said he) the army of Mohammed Aly will be seized from both sides.

Shaheen Bey, not considering the *testament* of his father, thought the offer and plan of Ibrahim

sand pounds which he had in England, to be divided among him and three other favourite Beys of his brethren, who had been with Elfy Bey in England. He then declared that he was dying *poisoned by one of themselves*,* who shall repent for what he had done! and so, in a short time after, the poor Elfy Bey expired.

* It was supposed that *Shaheen Bey* was the *perpetrator* of his master's death, for the anxiety of succeeding him soon! lest he should change his mind in favour of some one of the other favourite slaves.

Bey were very proper; and thus he moved* from the northern parts of Egypt towards the south. But Mohammed Aly being more active and cunning, he was at Mallawi (after driving before him Soléman Bey Jerjawí, with his camp, from Menia) prior to Shaheen Bey having reached the neighbourhood of Giza, and even previously to the arrival of most of the other Beys from Upper Egypt to Assiútt.

Ibrahim Bey being alarmed at the rapid advance of Mohammed Aly, encamped, together with the other Beys, out of Assiútt. At this evacuation, all the country was in great alarm, fearing the rapacity of the Turks; and whoever could easily quit his house, made up his trunks and followed the camp, or went to Upper Egypt. As I had nothing to fear for but my life, I left Assiútt for Manfalútt, where *Shaheen Bey Bardeesi* was encamped; and the inhabitants had not left the town. On a Wednesday morning, the two camps advanced, and by the evening met together, in the fields between Assiútt and Manfalútt, when the attack began most desperately

* This removal of Shaheen Bey was the first cause of the decline of the family Elfy, because the design of Ibrahim Bey was merely for weakening and destroying the power of the house Elfy, as will appear from the following pages.

on both sides, and lasted till day-break. The slaughter was most immense, especially on the part of the Turks. The victory would have been complete in favour of the Beys, if *Soléman Bey Jerjawí* (of whom I spoke in my note page lxiv) had not fallen at the moment of the decision.

Although Mohammed Aly was making his retreat in the morning, the Mamlúks were in great confusion, and lost courage by the fall of their great warrior, and made their retreat also! notwithstanding, Shaheen Bey Elfy had arrived with his camp on the next morning of the battle. He proposed to attack Mohammed Aly again by himself; and wished that the other Beys would stand behind, as a mere figurative support to his cavalry. But Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, with all this state of abjection in which they were, (yet at the same time they had very good opportunity to defeat their enemy,) was still swelled up by the spirit of ambition and jealousy:—he thought, as the victory was to be decided through the help of the house Elfy, all the other Beys, as well as himself, would be under great obligation to them; and thus he objected to the plan of Shaheen Bey Elfy, by making several nonsensical excuses, till Mohammed Aly had time enough to cross, with the fragments of his troops, from the west to the east bank of the

Nile, and proceed towards Cairo again, where he was glad to get.

Shaheen Bey, observing the insincere manner of Ibrahim Bey, and finding himself disappointed in every way, (after undergoing so much expense in removing his camp from the neighbourhood of Alexandria to Upper Egypt,) then thought of the value of his father's *testament*, and returned to his quarter in the north of Egypt, all sorrowful and repentant for what he had done.

To return to my own subject:—After all this was over, and the affairs remained thus undecided, I returned to Assiútt, from which place I crossed to the east bank of the Nile, where the caravan, which was to go to Cairo privately, was ready.

As since our shipwreck in the Red Sea, I had been overcome with sorrow, and had let my beard grow, (though composed of very few hairs, being too young,) I dressed myself like an Arab Bedouin, for fear, and not to be taken by the Turks for a Mamlúk; and hired a camel for myself and my provision, and proceeded with the caravan. On our starting, the chief of the Arabs ordered the caravan to proceed immediately towards the Desert, in order to avoid meeting with the Turks on the cultivated ground; and at the same time he collected his horsemen and preceded us. We

had to fear, not only the Turks, but likewise the Arabs, who were allied with them, and whose station was in the mountains in our way. However, we travelled in a most exhausting and undescribable manner, through a dreary desert, for six days, when we became in want of water and provisions. By this time, our Arabs thought that we were opposite to a neighbourhood of some villages, inhabited by their friends, and free from Turks; and so we began to descend, all joyful, from the desert to the cultivated land. We halted near to a small village called *Ckobèbat*, and, as we had no suspicion of meeting any enemy there, every body, as well as myself, went about to provide some water and food. But, besides my disappointment in finding every thing scanty and miserable, I was left behind, and the caravan suddenly started without the passengers.*

* Hardly were the camels halted, the loads laid down, and the passengers dispersed, when a few Turks with some Arabs made their appearance on horseback, at the halting-place, where they attempted to seize the caravan; but on finding our horsemen were strong enough, and ready to oppose them, they went away, menacing them that they would return with *two guns*, and more *troops;* whereupon our Arabs being alarmed, immediately started with the caravan, without waiting for any of the passengers.

After I had, with great difficulty, obtained two loaves of miserable barley bread, and some stinking cheese, with a *jar*, about a gallon, of water, I went (not knowing what had happened) to our halting-place, where, to my astonishment, I found nobody but a few boys picking up some *dry dates*, which, apparently, were spread about by the haste in reloading the camels. I asked them whether they knew any thing about the caravan? Their answer was, that the Turks had been there, and plundered the goods; and that the Arabs had hardly time to run away with the camels towards the mountains. Although I was alarmed at the information, yet I was doubtful of the truth.

At last, thinking that every soul in the caravan was in want of water and provision, and that they could not proceed on to a far distance without halting at some place, I thought the best way was to lift up my provision on my shoulders and proceed through the desert, following the footsteps of the camels. I walked till the moon was set, when it became dark, and I could not see the footsteps at all. Now, being alarmed, fatigued, and hungry, I resolved to stop where I was until the morning; yet I was only afraid of being seized by some animal during the night. However, after I had lain down on

the ground, and eat very *hearty* of that *uneatable* bread and cheese, and drank *bumperly* of that *unpleasant* water, I thought I saw or heard the creeping of some animals at a distance; whereupon my fear increased, and I considered my body as a prey to the wild beasts, because I had no arms whatever, and there was no tree or place to take refuge. My only consolation in this distressing situation was, that I knew in that district of desert there were no ferocious animals, as *lions*, *tigers*, &c., but a great number of *gazels* (a kind of deer), *wolves*, some *wild sheep*, and a very few *hyenas;* and as for the latter, (which is the worst) I had heard the Arabs saying that, "if you should *strike fire*, it would run away directly." I took two round pieces of *flint*, (which was in great abundance on the ground) and began to strike one upon the other as fast as I could; but the more fire and noise I made, the nearer I saw the animals coming towards me! I then left off every thing, and *lifted up my tails on my shoulders*,* and began to run away towards a hill, whereupon I heard the voice of a man calling, "*Whose shade*

* *Explanation.*—As the eastern dresses are loose, and always dropping down, people could not run easily without lifting them up; and the above is the common *phraseology.*

is there? If a friend, do not fear, and if an enemy, thou shalt have a shot." On hearing this, I was of course relieved, and answered with great cheerfulness, "*Friend, friend!*" "*Of which tribe art thou?*" "*I am of the Arabs Máázee.*" His answer was,—who are of the same tribe as our Arabs. I then went to him, and found that he was kept back to drive twelve or fifteen cows and oxen belonging to our caravan, which were overcome with fatigue and could hardly move.

After I stated to him my circumstances and what had happened to the caravan, and relieved him with a part of my provision, he was good enough to offer me his *dromedary*, which, at that moment, was the greatest relief to me in the world. When I mounted it, he told me not to guide nor to touch her (it was a *she* dromedary) with the whip, but to let her alone, and that I might be sure that she would carry me, in a very short time, to the spot where the caravan was, and that I had only to keep myself steady on her back, and to fear nothing. He recommended me to keep my mouth and nose covered up, in order to prevent the effect of the air while she was running. I started with her about twelve o'clock at night; and when she was heated and began to gallop, I thought myself as if I was

flying in the air.* At about two o'clock in the morning, I saw, at a distance, some fires; and, in a quarter of an hour after, I found myself in a camp of Arabs, where she went and kneeled down by a black tent, and began to make a terrible noise. I immediately knew that it was not our caravan. However, on the dromedary's voice, I saw an old woman coming out of the tent, exclaiming, "Welcome, my dear son!" but when she approached to kiss me, and found that I was not her son, she began to howl "Murder, murder! here is a Turk-man who has killed my

* The dromedaries bred by the Arabs Ababdé, are generally known to be superior to any others; yet they have a particular breed called "*Eshary*," or *Tenly*, which goes (as they say) *in one hour* as great a distance as a horse would go *in ten*. The rider of this kind of dromedary does not eat and drink but very little: he must fasten himself with a rope round it, and fill up his ears and nose with some cotton, to prevent the effect of the air produced by the swiftness of the animal. These extraordinary quadrupeds bear hunger and thirst for three days, or perhaps more, if a few dates are given now and then, while travelling in the desert. They are guided by a *ring* passed through the *nostril*; and when the rider wishes to stop, he must manage to get the animal cold by degrees, at a distance of two or three miles from the intended place. They are very delicate creatures; and the difference between a dromedary and a camel is something like that between a greyhound and a common dog.

They are sold as high as £500 each, and not without the certificate of breed.

son and seized his dromedary!" and she made a horrible rout throughout the camp, when every body got up and came to her assistance. I then told them, that I was neither Turk nor Mamlûk; and stated the circumstances of the caravan, and how the dromedary had brought me to their camp. The woman would not believe my account, and insisted on revenging her son's blood by *smothering me under a camel's belly!* On hearing this, I of course began to think very seriously of my unhappy luck, and how to get over it. I asked for the chief of the tribe, to whom I gave the name of the chief of our Arabs, and of the man with whom I was as passenger; and told him to arrest me at his tent till he sent to inquire where the caravan was, (which could not be at a great distance from that neighbourhood,) and to have a full information of the facts. He at first objected, saying that a horseman could not go without being paid: but understanding that I was a harmless person and possessed nothing but my life, he took me to his tent, and immediately dispatched one of his people to ascertain the fact. I staid in the family of this good man six days, when the messenger returned with the confirmation of all the circumstances.

I then requested him to send me to Cairo; whereupon he said, that he could not send me

with any of his men publicly, but he would convey me with some of the countrymen who go to sell straw; and that I was to disguise myself like one of them, and to drive before me a camel loaded with straw. In short, I did all that he told me, and, at last, succeeded in entering Cairo as a *straw-seller*.

On my arrival at Cairo, in 1806, I heard from Mr. F. Petrucci, my employer of Rosetta, that General Frazer was on his way with the expedition to Egypt; who, some time after my return to Rosetta, arrived and took possession of Alexandria. The terror of the Turks on this occasion was very great; and the joy created in the hearts of all the inhabitants, both Christians and Mohammedans, was unbounded.* But their misfortune was already anticipated by the *death of Elfy Bey* previously to General Frazer's arrival; and after-

* Previously to the French going to Egypt, the inhabitants perhaps were rather rude, and very superstitious against their being governed by Christians. But after having been under the French (though their government then under Buonaparte, was not so regular as at present) and then the English; and understanding the difference between an European and a despotic government, they became so civil, and fond of Europeans, as to feel a most sincere wish, and an earnest hope, to have (as they termed) "*a hat* to rule over them again," especially when they lost the Mamlúks' government, and were left by the English in the hands of the Turks. They felt very much hurt and disappointed by the English having not remained in

wards it was completed by the *stupidness of Shaheen Bey*, his successor: instead of availing himself of the *favourable opportunity* to recover

Egypt on either of both times, or, at least, not restored the Mamlúks' government.

The preference given by the Egyptians to the Mamlúks is not on account of their being the rightful masters of the country only, (because even the Beys government was not a very civilized one,) but for the following reasons also:—First, they (the Mamlúks) were originally stolen children from Circassia and Georgia, imported to Egypt, where they were brought up, and knew no parents, no country but that. Secondly, they never meddled in commercial business at all. Thirdly, although they were rapacious, yet they were very luxurious: any money they gained was expended in the country, where the people derived its benefit again. But the present government of Mohammed Aly is quite the reverse. First, the Pashá himself is *governor and merchant*. His influence is over all the branches of production and commerce: he possesses twenty or twenty-five merchant ships in the Mediterranean, (besides those in the Red Sea,) and his agents are sent to almost every commercial town! Secondly, his troops and followers being derived from mean and scanty sources, or rather a collection of plunderers picked up from the mountains of Romania and Albania, are very avaricious and greedy: at the moment they put their foot in Egypt, they think of nothing else but to pillage as much as they can, and carrying it out to their miserable countries. Thus, when the inhabitants observe that they are deprived of all means of commerce, from benefiting by dealing with them (the Turks) at home, and that the bulk of their *wealth* is seized and carried out of the country, they of course must hate and detest them to excess!

the throne of Cairo, he was again taken in by the insincere management of Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, and went towards Upper Egypt, or waited at some place to meet him and the other Beys, then to march all together! In consequence of this, a long time was lost, and Mohammed Aly was enabled to make his preparations to prevent the meeting.

The rumour, however, of the expedition was all over the country; and every body most anxiously expected, nay, was rather sure, to be released from the tyranny of the Turks. If General Frazer had not consented to move from Alexandria towards Rosetta, and had made any demand respecting the kingdom, or the Mamlúks, he would have obtained it from the Pashaw immediately; or if, at least, his guide or leader had brought him from the *north* of Rosetta instead of the *south*, where there is a plain district without hills of sand, he would have taken possession of the castle, which lies about two hours from Rosetta, and then entered directly into the heart of the town, all the inhabitants of which had prepared their hearts to receive him with the utmost sincerity. But unluckily he was brought from the *south* side of Rosetta, which is a district of immense mountains of a kind of fine soft sand, *(none equal to it is to be found in any*

part of Egypt !) in which a man would sink to above his knees ; and although possession of the town had been taken, yet it would always be difficult for strangers to traverse without being *misled* or *deceived*, especially in so irregular a town as that of Rosetta.

However there are some other similar accidents which happened in consequence of misunderstanding in this affair ; yet fearing to take up much time of the reader, I wish to conclude as short as I can, saying that my employer and myself were, on this occasion, seized by the Turks, put in chains, and sent to Cairo as prisoners. A few weeks after, when the business of Rosetta was over, and he had paid 80,000 piastres, about 3,000*l.*, to the Pashaw as a redemption, we were set at liberty, and the negotiation between Mohammed Aly and General Frazer went on. On the evacuation of Alexandria, my employer went to attend his duty there, and I was sent to Cairo again on special affairs. After every thing was settled, I took with me the few Englishmen who were kept at Cairo, and went to Alexandria, where they were embarked.

Mohammed Aly being still fearful of the existence of his rivals (the Mamlúks) in Egypt, contrived to keep them in disunion one with the other as much as he could, and then effect his

atrocious design. He at first began with the strongest body of the Mamlúks (the house Elfy, of whom he was more fearful,) and succeeded in making peace, in 1808,* with Shaheen Bey Elfy, who was a very ignorant man. He gave him the province of Giza, and left under his authority the two provinces he had before (Béhéra and Fáyúm), and brought him under his sight in the Palace of Giza, where he lodged him. A few months after, he married him to one of his favourite slaves, a *Circassian woman*, with whom Shaheen Bey was very happy. He also married Ahmed Bey, (who was next to Shaheen Bey in rank, in the house Elfy,) to the daughter of Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, who was left with her mother at Cairo; and he did the same in marrying almost all the minor Beys of the family Elfy, to several of his slaves, and to some widows of former Beys, giving them splendid establishments in Cairo.

Having thus succeeded in scattering about the house Elfy, and made them become settlers instead of warriors, he wished to do the same with the other Beys in Upper Egypt. He made an expedition in 1809, and took Shaheen Bey *on pur-*

* This peace was the *second* cause of the decline of the family Elfy.

pose with him, and went to Assiútt. Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, as well as the other Beys, on hearing of his arrival, together with Shaheen Bey Elfy, thought that the latter was of course allied with him against them; and so, when he (Mohammed Aly) proposed to them a treaty of peace, they did not refuse. Shaheen Bey then was appointed by Mohammed Aly as mediator between them and him, and the terms were as follows:—That the Beys should occupy the territories south of Cairo, on the east bank of the Nile, from Gabal-Attèr to Essúan, except *Kená*;* and on the west bank from Dahshoor to the opposite coast of Essúan, or higher up (on both banks) if they like—That they should have no communication whatever with the northern parts of Egypt, nor any Mamlúk should extend his journey beyond Cairo—That they *(the chiefs only)* should be allowed to have establishments, and to live at Cairo, if they like, but without any suite; and their followers, or troops, to live in the neighbourhood of their respective provinces—That they should be ready to go to *Hédjaz* (Arabia) at any time that Mohammed Aly might have to send

* Mohammed Aly wished to keep *Kená* in his hand, in order to have a free communication from the Red Sea to Egypt through Cosseir, and to receive the customs on the India goods and Mocka coffee landed in that harbour.

an expedition against the *Wahhabies*—And that after three months from that date, all the Beys should come from Upper Egypt to Giza, then cross over to the citadel of Cairo, where the treaties would be signed; and they would be *invested* with the usual *pellices*, &c. &c.*

After the parties had agreed upon these and a few other trifling terms, Mohammed Aly returned to Cairo rather easy, and persuaded himself of the success of his intended design. Shaheen Bey likewise returned to his residence in Giza, most anxiously looking for the day of the Beys' arrival from Upper Egypt. He began to make his preparations, but having no sufficient means for the execution of his secret plan formed with Ibrahim Bey, he thought to apply to Great Britain for help. He now wrote to my employer in Alexandria, requesting him to write to the British government, explaining that he (Shaheen Bey) was very anxiously willing

* While Shaheen Bey was negociating on this occasion, Ibrahim Bey El-kebier succeeded in corrupting his mind another time, and combined with him a secret plan: viz. that when all the Beys descended from Upper Egypt towards Cairo, to get the treaties finished with Mohammed Aly, Shaheen Bey was to be ready to come out of Giza with all his followers, to unite with them, then to sally forth all together and take possession of Cairo.

to follow his father's steps of relation with England; that he was about to recover his rightful throne of Cairo, but he wanted to borrow *one million* of dollars to enable him to complete his design: and that this money was to be returned to England, either in productions of Egypt, or in cash.

According to Shaheen Bey's desire, my employer composed two letters in Italian: one was directed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; the other to Admiral Collingwood, who was at that time commander in chief in the Mediterranean.

After these letters were written, I made the translation in Arabic, and took them from Alexandria to Cairo, (a message of no little danger,) to be signed and sealed by Shaheen Bey at Giza.

When this was safely done, and I returned to Alexandria, my employer sent me again to Shaheen Bey, to receive some money due to him by Elfy Bey before his death. On my arrival at Giza, Shaheen Bey gave me an order to go to Fáyúm, to collect the duties upon the *rose water* distillation, and upon the *canvass* manufactories there,* on account of his father's debts.

* In Fáyúm, the roses grow in extensive fields, like those of corn, from which they distil a very superior kind of water,

I proceeded from Giza to *Cardasé*, then to the Desert, where we halted by the foot of the Pyramids. During the afternoon, I availed myself of the opportunity to inspect those stupendous and amazing edifices, which have already been very accurately described by many abler travellers than myself. At eight o'clock in the evening we started south westward, through a desert plain, and by ten the next morning we came to the cultivated fields of Fáyúm, where we reposed near the first village from the desert, called *Tamiyá*. At two o'clock in the afternoon we proceeded through that rich province, and by the evening arrived at the city of Fáyúm.

Of the immense fertility and productions of this famous province, (which is far superior to any part of Egypt,) perhaps on a future opportunity I shall give some account.

In the course of this period, Mohammed Aly received three letters from the *Wahhabies*, two from the chief, *Séood Eben Abd-El-Aziz*, (father of the late chief, who has been since tortured and then beheaded at Constantinople,) and one from the commander in chief, named *Alíyán*, in

which is a great article for the use of the country and for exportation. There is likewise a kind of coarse but very stout canvass manufactured in great quantity there, which is used in packing goods, &c. for home and abroad.

which they explained the principles of their religion, or rather *dissenting* Mohamedanism, by *authentic quotations from Alcoran;* and they invited him either to embrace their *true* Músleman faith, or to come out in the field.*

Mohammed Aly wrote to them a very *sharp* answer, and began to make his preparations. By this time (though more than six months had elapsed) the Beys began to descend from Upper Egypt towards Giza, in 1810, where, in a few weeks after, Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, with the others, (except *Ossman Bey Hassan*, whose quarter was about the neighbourhood of Essná,) arrived, and met Shaheen Bey Elfy at his palace.

Now, Mohammed Aly not knowing (of course) the *secret plan* formed between Shaheen and Ibrahim Beys, sent his second son, *Tóssún Pashá*, to congratulate the latter, as well as the other

* *Apology.*—According to the advertisement of the contents of this book, I ought (as my intention was) to give *here* a translation of the correspondence passed between Mohammed Aly and the Wahhabies, some account of their system, manners, &c. but as all these matters would run to a great length, and being not sure whether the reader would feel any interest in the present humble work, I thought it would be more proper not to take up so much of his time all at once; and to fulfil my promise at a future opportunity, if this volume should be kindly accepted by the generosity of the British public.

Beys, on their arrival; and he wrote to Shaheen Bey to fix a day with Ibrahim Bey and his brethren for their interview with him (Mohammed Aly) at the citadel of Cairo in order to conclude the treaties. Tóssún Pashá was very kindly received by them all; and the answer given by Ibrahim Bey was, that they could not appoint any day yet for their interview with Mohammed Aly, until Ossman Bey Hassan (the third great chief) arrived from Upper Egypt.

More than three weeks were elapsed, and Ossman Bey did not appear. During this time they settled their camps all about the neighbourhood of Giza, and Shaheen Bey made his preparations to sally forth with them.

Mohammed Aly, suspecting something of their manners, and knowing that Ibrahim Bey was a very *deep old soldier*, thought of the dangerous state in which he had placed his throne, by bringing all his rivals on the opposite bank; and sent his *kákhíya Bey* over to Giza, to have an explanation with Ibrahim Bey, by asking him to come to the citadel, on Friday next to that week, to finish the treaties, as the Pashá's intention was to go to Suez on some preparations against the Wahhabies. Ibrahim Bey being very cunning, said that "as the Pashá was obliged to go to Suez soon, and Ossman Bey

Hassan had not arrived yet, their going to the citadel was not necessary: the treaties might be signed by the Pashá, and sent to them for their signatures on Friday, by which time, probably, Ossman Bey might reach Giza, who would affix his signature also; and that their interview with the Pashá might take place after his return from Suez."

Kákhíya Bey returned with his answer to Mohammed Aly, who, willing to keep up his pretended policy, signed the treaties, and on the appointed day sent them by his son and kákhíya Bey over to the Beys for their signatures. On the messengers' arrival at Giza, they found to their utmost surprise that Shaheen Bey Elfy had taken out his *Harém*, and was encamped with all his suite among the other Beys;* and they were received with the utmost indignation! Ibrahim Bey, instead of signing the treaties, declared to Mohammed Aly's son, that the territories agreed upon in the treaties to be ceded to them by his father were even not sufficient to the support of their horses; that they wanted to include *Kená* and *Cosseir* under their authority; and, to have all the country imme-

* This union again of Shaheen Bey with the other Beys was the *third* cause of the decline of the house Elfy.

diately from Cairo southward on both banks—otherwise they were ready for the field!

When this unexpected message was brought to Mohammed Aly, (although it was of an alarming nature,) he lost no courage; he only felt very much hurt at Shaheen Bey's behaviour, and during the night made his preparations, and, on the next morning, 2,000 soldiers, with some pieces of artillery, were landed at Giza! The Beys, seeing this astonishing promptitude, (though the forces were a great deal inferior to their's,) got up, and instead of dashing upon them, they marched towards the south again! intentionally to avoid the attack till Ossman Bey Hassan's arrival, then to attack all together.*

Mohammed Aly, whose alarm was very great, and who never expected that they would be so

* From this absurd and most stupid proceeding, as well as from its continuation in the following pages, the reader may form a sufficient idea of the *ignorance* and *narrowness of mind* of the Mamlúks at large. They formed their plan to take possession of Cairo, while they had neither means nor boats to cross the river! They violated their agreement with Mohammed Aly, while they were not in a state of overpowering him! And when they had a famous opportunity of doing it, they walked on stupidly without dashing upon him, blinded in their *astrological* credulity, "that they might be sure of their conquering Cairo, but the victory could not be effected *but by the presence of Ossman Bey Hassan*," for whom they were foolishly

stupid to such a degree as this, was most happy (though foiled in his design) at their removal from Giza, without any thing taking place; by

waiting, while they were not aware how far nor at what place he was.*

The *astrologians*† told them, that their government was to be restored; that Ibrahim Bey El-kebier (who was the oldest and first chief) was to enter Cairo, *smoking his pipe*, on horseback; and that Ossman Bey Hassan (who was next to Ibrahim Bey in age and reputation) was to be *Emir Hadge*, or escorter of the caravan of Pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre of Mohammed. Relying upon these false prophecies, they became more vain than usual of their horsemanship, (in which profession, perhaps, they were the first,) and very confident of their success! without considering that Mohammed Aly was not *asleep*.

* Ossman Bey Hassan and his family, or followers, were known in fame and courage as equal to the house Elfy. He was on the same principles of Elfy Bey, to whom he was more friend than to Ibrahim Bey El-kebier and the other Beys. He was quite retired from them, at the extremity of the south of Egypt, as Elfy Bey was at the extremity of the north. If Elfy Bey had not died, and these two houses had united together, certainly they might have turned Mohammed Aly out of Egypt, and conquered the country. Although they were persons of some talent, yet the superstition of *astrology* was still impressed on their mind:—Ossman Bey, confiding in what the *astrologians said* about him in the above note, resolved *not to shave* his head unless he escorted the Pilgrims from Cairo to Medina, and thus he had his hair dropping down on his shoulders, (which was contrary to the eastern custom,) for doing which he was considered as a holy man, and was called the *Shéikh*, or *Sainton*. On this account, they were quite sure that the victory could not be obtained but by his being present!

† In Egypt, which was the throne of arts and science, nothing is known at present but *astrology* and *fortune-telling!*

doing which they afforded him plenty of time to fit out an army against them.

After they left Giza, they halted at Dahshoor, waiting for Ossman Bey Hassan to come.

During this time, Shaheen Bey Elfy sent and took me from Fáyúm. On my arrival at the camp, he appointed me as his private secretary, and afterwards cashier.

Now, Mohammed Aly knowing that Upper Egypt was almost empty, and that Ossman Bey Hassan (who was the only Bey left there) was coming downward, sent an expedition of 3,000 Albanians, under the command of *Hassan Pashá Arnáoótt*, by the river, to surprise Ossman Bey on his way, and to take possession of Upper Egypt, in order to deprive the Beys of the supply of provisions, as well as of other means.

The Beys, on hearing of this expedition, made their arrangements to prevent its proceeding; and Shaheen Bey Elfy was then appointed general in chief of all the Mamlúks' forces. He took a strong body of horsemen, with some pieces of light artillery, and proceeded on to a village called *El-Záwié*, or *Záwiét El-Massloob*, where is a projecting cape with a high cliff, under which the river runs with such extreme rapidity that a boat could not get over it, unless with a very strong favourable wind, or all the passengers

must land and drag the boat; and on the opposite bank is all shallow. He placed his guns in the proper positions, and encamped with all his cavalry at a little distance from the river, hid by some date trees.

A few days after, the Albanies flotilla made its appearance; and not thinking that the Beys were (for the first time) so prompt, they came, as usual, to anchor on the west bank, waiting for a favourable wind against the stream. They were about 120 boats; many of them had a gun of good size. They anchored about six in the evening, and the people began to land, to get their dinner cooked; whereupon Shaheen Bey rushed with his cavalry all at once upon them, and opened a tremendous fire. The confusion of the Albanies was, of course, beyond measure. The slaughter, among them, without mercy from the Mamlúks, was most horrible; and the few who could escape from the shore were drowned. The plunder was immense; and the boats afterwards were set on fire, except very few of them, which effected their escape, and were run on shore on the opposite bank. Many of the Albanies were taken prisoners; but, as the general in chief (Shaheen Bey) had given orders "*to give no quarter*," and had announced a reward of *one thousand paras* (about one pound) to any man

who should bring him *a head* of an Albanian or a Turk, all the prisoners were beheaded, and the heads brought for the *reward*.*

On the next morning, when this attack, or rather massacre, was over, Shaheen Bey returned *triumphant* to the camp, with a procession of *many heads* before him, raised upon the lances' points, which afterwards were stuck all about the camp as a commemoration *(barbarous vanity)* of the victory!

Now the pride of the Beys became unbounded, and their credulity in astrology was most solemn. They were quite confident of their conquering the country; and with great anxiety were looking for the arrival of Ossman

* My *forced* employment on this unpleasant occasion altogether, was almost my death: besides the daily danger and discomfort to which I was exposed, all the men who succeeded in getting one or more heads of the enemies were sent to me, being cashier, with orders from Shaheen Bey, for payment of the reward; and willing to pay me great compliments, on their reaching the entrance of my tent, they used to roll the *heads* to the bottom of it all about me, saying, "*May you see your enemies in this state.*" Notwithstanding I requested them very earnestly not to pay me this *distinguished* compliment, and that I would pay them with great pleasure without it; yet they would not cease doing it until I went and begged Shaheen Bey, who laughed at me, and said that "*I was not a good soldier.*"

Bey Hassan, who, at last, after receiving the pleasant tidings of the victory, hastened and joined them. The whole of their forces now amounted to about 4,000 Mamlúks and 15,000 Bedouins. On his arrival, they made an agreement for the *division* of the kingdom amongst themselves, which was as follows:—That if they should take possession of the throne of Cairo, a quarter of the dominions should be to Ibrahim Bey Elkebier; a quarter to Shaheen Bey Elfy; a quarter to Ossman Bey Hassan; and a quarter to Selim Bey Mahramgí and the other Beys of the family of Múrad Bey; That Ibrahim Bey was to be the governor of Cairo, and on his demise Shaheen Bey was to succeed to the throne; Ossman Bey Hassan was to be *Emir Hadge,* or *Prince of Pilgrims,* which means the escorter of pilgrimage; Selim Bey was to be the Governor of Upper Egypt; and Shaheen Bey was to be about the northern parts of Egypt, &c. &c.

After I had drawn up this agreement in four copies, and each of the Beys took one, symptoms of jealousy began to appear, as usual, amongst them, on account of the victory obtained by Shaheen Bey Elfy over the Albanies! However they commenced to make their preparations for remarching towards Giza again; but, as Mohammed Aly was on active prepara-

tions also, notwithstanding the failure of his Albanies expedition, the news came that he was moving towards us* with an army of 10,000 men, *cavalry* and *infantry!* On hearing this, the Beys declined advancing; and thinking that he would come to attack them directly wherever they might be, they retired from the tillage ground to the plain desert west of *Aboo-ssir*, on account of the *cracking* of the lands,† being dangerous for the management of horses and guns.

In a few days after, we heard of Mohammed Aly's arrival at *Ckeman El-Arúss*, a village on the bank, about ten miles N. E. from *Aboo-ssir*; whereupon the Beys collected all their horsemen, leaving the camp with their *harems*, or wives, under the care of a small body of guards, and went to meet him.

By the evening we arrived at the plain west of Ckeman, within *a league* from Mohammed Aly's camp, where we passed the whole night alert, with the bridles of our horses in hand, and one camp watching the fires of the other.

* I shall speak, now and then, in the first person plural, as I was one of them.

† The lands in Egypt, after the inundation of the Nile, and the harvest, become cracked all over, by the heat of the sun, at about 2 feet in depth, and more than 6 inches wide.

On the next morning, our advanced guard began to skirmish about, in order to induce Mohammed Aly to come to the field; but he was cunning enough to keep within the cultivated lands, and not to lose possession of the bank. Both parties remained two days and two nights standing in this way one opposite to the other: the Beys would not attack him on the cultivated ground on account of its being cracked; and he would not move to the desert plain, for the purpose of his own views.

On the third day, when they had resolved to dash upon him, they found nobody standing before them at Ckeman; during the night he had moved to *Maymoon*, a village S. E. of Aboo-ssir, by which movement his position, instead of being ast, became south-east of them.

Now, grumbling of disappointment arose among the Beys, and the blame was put upon the general in chief, Shaheen Bey Elfy—Why did he not attack Mohammed Aly sooner? However, as they were compelled to move back southward, and observing that the province of *Fáyúm*, which lies west of Aboo-ssir, and which was a great *depository* of provisions in case of distress, would remain behind, they thought the best way was to remove the camp all at once to *Lahoon* (the first village south-east of the said

province), and to lie at the bridge called *Ckanattér El-Lahoon*, by the canal of Joseph,* in order to have that province at hand, and to possess an immediate passage over the bridge to the Desert; and the horsemen only were to go in pursuit of the enemy.

After the camp was removed, the cavalry marched towards Maymoon, where we halted west of the village within the desert. Mohammed Aly, on his seeing us, pretended making preparations for the attack; but the day elapsed,

* The Egyptians suppose, that this canal was dug by Joseph at the time of *Pharaoh*, on purpose to conduct the water from the Nile to the province of Fáyoum; and that the bridge of Lahoon also was built by him. The canal begins at *Deiroott Áshérief*, running in an horizontal line *west* across the cultivated grounds (without any bridge over it*) to the foot of the Desert; then it runs *north* by the borders of the Desert as far as Lahoon, where the bridge is erected; from which place it takes another direction *west*, as the Desert turns, till it is dispersed throughout the province of Fáyoum. Its width is irregular: in some parts it is about 30 or 40 feet, and in others 15 or 20 only; and its depth is likewise not equal.

The bridge of Lahoon is built upon two narrow arches, about 12 feet each; and the centre of both is filled up with a step, or rather platform, as high as the level of the land east of the bridge, in order to check the strength of the water from overflowing the province of Fáyoum, the lands being too low.

* On this account, the Beys wished to be near the bridge of Lahoon.

and he did not advance. Our advanced guard then went near the village, to watch his steps during the night; when on the next morning they found Maymoon was empty, and Mohammed Aly was gone to *Baníswéf*.

Upon this second *trick*, murmuring of discontent increased amongst the Beys, and they began to think very seriously of his proceedings. However they went to Lahoon to see how the camp was situated, and to secure the place. On their arrival, they placed the camp within the tillage lands south of Lahoon, and the east side of the canal of Joseph, and secured the passage from Lahoon to the bridge with a strong body of guards and some guns.

After this was done, they proceeded towards Baníswéf; but, on their arrival, they found Mohammed Aly not only encamped at Baníswéf, but a great part of his forces intrenched within an extensive field of *date trees*, west of Baníswéf, where every man or two were famously defended by a tree.

Cavalry here could not act, guns had very little effect, and musquetry none at all. The Beys now became in a more desperate state, and began to skirmish about for two or three days without any success. They afterwards, considering the dangerous position of the camp within

the canal of Joseph, sent orders to remove it without it, on the west, or desert side. In two days we crossed the bridge of Lahoon, and encamped near by a ruined village, on the desert side of the canal, called *Sédmant El-gabal.*

At this time, while the Beys were occupied in watching the troops within the trees, Mohammed Aly sent a large body of his forces to seize our camp. They marched during the night from Baníswéf northward till they came to 'Aboo-ssir; then they crossed the Desert westward, and came early after midnight from the north side of Lahoon,—a tour of more than forty miles, performed in less than eight hours! Thus, while every body in the camp was fast asleep, we were awakened by a terrible screaming and rout; upon which we opened our eyes, and saw dreadful blazes of fires all about, and the camp was in a horrible confusion.* Now

* When the troops of Mohammed Aly arrived at Lahoon, they set fire to all the hay and straw about the village, in order to put us in confusion, and that they might have light for the seizure of the camp. But fortunately they were disappointed by finding our camp was without the bridge, on the desert side of the canal of Joseph; and although they dashed upon our guards at the entrance of the bridge, and took possession of it, yet they did not attempt to pursue us, (which, if they had done, they might have very easily plundered the camp,) but were satisfied in *expelling us* from the province of Fáyúm.

every person began to fly in a different direction, without knowing where he was, or what was the real fact; so that all the camp was the whole night dispersed about the desert, without any escorter, thinking that the enemies were in pursuit of us. At last, the next morning, our horsemen began to appear from various directions, (seemingly they had crossed over to the Desert, through the shallow parts of the canal of Joseph,) and by the evening the camp was collected together, and again encamped at the desert west of *Báhnasé*.

Mohammed Aly, having thus succeeded in expelling the Beys from the province of Fáyúm, by which they were deprived of great resources, furnished himself with the ready provisions and ammunition that were left at Lahoon, and marched upon them, yet still within the canal of Joseph, on the border of the tillage grounds.

On his arrival at Báhnasé, they dashed upon him from the shallow parts of the canal, when an engagement took place immediately; but, being towards evening, and the spot full of *shrubs*, our *stupid* Beys thought that they had done wrong, and during the night began to make their retreat, while Mohammed Aly was retreating northward, considering himself *defeated!*

This was another horrid night of confusion, and wandering about the desert, worse than that of Lahoon.

On the next morning, finding out their stupidness, they began to blame each other, and one Bey attributed the cause of retreat to the other. However, we halted at the desert west of *Menia*, where we stopped more than a week. But, as they now began to feel the scarcity of provisions, and wished to get clear of the canal of Joseph, in order to have an easy communication with the villages on the cultivated lands, they thought proper to remove the camp all at once to *Daldgé wél-Bádramán.**

After we had encamped between these two villages and *Toona El-gabal*,† all the horsemen and artillery went and took up their stations at the desert north of the latter village, which is a famous plain for a battle, and where Mohammed Aly, on account of several canals, besides that of Joseph, running across the soil, could not avoid coming out to attack them.

Here a very curious circumstance happened,

* Two villages on the borders of the Desert, westward of the mouth of Joseph's canal.

† *Toona El-gabal* is a small village on the Desert, northward of *Daldgé wél-Bádramán*, and west of *Ashmoonén* and *Mallawí*.

of which I cannot say whether it is a *new* discovery, or was known to some other travellers before me. However, I shall state the fact as I met with it. While my servant was digging to fix the pillar of my tent, I observed the ground gave way, and was easy in digging. After the pillar with the tent upon it was fixed, I saw it began to sink down a little; and in a few minutes it was almost half sunk in the ground, and we could not get it out. I then was induced to cause a large excavation; and, when the servant had dug about three feet deep, I saw the pillar entangled betwixt two stones. He then continued to dig around the stones, and I clearing away the sand, till we discovered a kind of *hatchway*, about three feet square, covered up with several stones standing right up, and poised, one edge inclined upon the other; yet at the sides there was a space of more than six inches between each other. The stones being too heavy, I applied to Shaheen Bey for help of a few men, who, thinking that there was a *treasure*, ordered more than ten men to assist me. After the stones were removed, I saw that it was a square pit, about fifteen feet deep; and at the bottom of one side there was a small gate. I then dropped my servant down with a rope; but, on his reaching the bottom,

and attempting to go in through the gate, began to cry out that he was choked by the suffocating smell, and could not stand any longer; whereupon we drew him up again. On the next morning, considering that the fresh air had penetrated into the pit, I took my servant and a candle with me, and went down myself. I passed through the gate, which was about three feet square, to a subterraneum, hewn in the rock, about six or seven feet high, and between twenty or thirty wide. I walked in it about thirty yards, where I saw on one side many *dead bodies,* wrapped up with white cloths, and laid down one by the side of the other. Now the Bey, on hearing of my going down into the pit, sent two of his slaves to attend the *treasure,* which I was to find; but when they saw nothing but *dead bodies,* they laughed at me, and went away directly. I walked about twenty or thirty yards more, on the other side, where I saw, in the centre, a painted box or coffin, shaped by a sculpture (as the usual Egyptian mummies) of a young woman's figure, with an inscription of *hieroglyphics* upon it, from the neck to the feet only. Here I began to feel my breathing become short, and the air heavy: I then declined proceeding any farther, and only contrived to take the coffin out, which I did by

the assistance of the servant, and brought it to my tent. It was in a most perfect state, and looked as if it was quite new. The colours of the painting were very bright, *blue* all around the head and the sides of the coffin, representing as a garment, or cover, dropping from the forehead backward over the body, and gathered with the hands across the breast. A fine *red*, and little *yellow*, were the ornaments within the edges of the blue, about the shoulders and the neck, shewing the rest of the dress; and *white* was the colour of the face, hands, &c. From the neck to the feet it was painted a stripe of fair white colour, about six inches wide, which was full of hieroglyphic characters, and on *no other part* of the coffin was there any of the same writing!—the whole of which was quite unknown to me, and more singular than any of the common Egyptian mummies that I ever saw.*

Now my tent became as an exhibition, and every one of the Beys was most curious to know why I intended to carry this *dead body* with me, which was to anticipate an *ill omen*

* The Egyptian mummies in general are like those in the British Museum, which are painted of *pale dull colours*, chiefly *yellow* and *white*, with hieroglyphic figures all around the sides, and over the coffin.

unto them. Owing to this superstition, Shaheen Bey sent and asked me to take the mummy to his tent, where I went, and saw him waiting with several other Beys to see what the box contained. On his telling me that he wished to have the box opened, I begged him most earnestly to spare it. He replied that it was impossible for him to allow me to carry it while I was with the camp; and even if he should, the other Beys would not permit me doing it. I then wished to return it to the pit as it was; whereupon *Omar Bey* (one of the family of Ossman Bey Hassan) said, "these *dead bodies* of *infidels* have always ornaments of jewels, gold, &c. upon them; and under their arms they carry an *amulet*, written upon a long stripe of paper, rolled up and hung on their neck." In reply I said, "I never heard of such thing, nor would believe it." He then stepped forward, took a ring off his finger, and said, "this is a *ring* which I found on the finger of a similar dead body while I was at *El-wastta* opposite to Assiútt." I took the ring from him, and observed it was of very soft or rather elastic gold, bearing a deep yellow colour, and of a very coarse workmanship. The beazel was of an oval shape, about the size of a *sixpence*, and I believe it was of *emerald root*, being a transparent dark

green colour. A superior engraving of a fine woman's bust was upon it; to which, being not an antiquarian, I dare not give any name; but I can only say that all her hair was curled, and dropping about the neck, and every curl represented a *serpent's figure*, very highly executed. He added that he had found, besides the ring, a *necklace*, on the same body, composed of some *yellow pearls*, *emerald stones*, and *gold coins;* and that he had disposed of the jewels, and used the gold in *gilding* his *sabre*. I asked him about the *amulet:* he said that he had it in his pocket book, which he lost very lately in crossing the river. On my returning the ring to him, he promised to give it to me on the day of their victory over the Pashá (which never was), notwithstanding he was offered by an European 300 dollars for it.

Now Shaheen Bey, as well as the others, on hearing all this story, (of which I cannot say whether it is true or not,) were most anxious for the opening of the coffin; and a carpenter was ordered to come immediately. When the carpenter came, I had no other satisfaction but to look how the box was constructed, and to try to open it accordingly, without breaking it. It was of *two* solid concaved pieces only; that is to say, the front part of the figure was the cover,

and the back part was the bottom of the coffin, both of which were hewn like *two shells*, of a kind of white sound wood, resembling *deal;* and were fastened one upon the other with square nails, ending in a pyramidical shape on both points, of a kind of reddish-coloured and hard wood, let in into the inner or contacting edges (not passed through holes from one side to the other). The wood of the coffin was about two inches thick, and the nails were more than half an inch square at the centre. After the coffin was thus opened, I saw the body lying in a perfect state in it, wrapped up with white cloth. The Beys now wishing to satiate their *brutal greediness* by an inspection of the body, I undertook, out of curiosity, to open the cloths myself:—*ten* or *twelve* folds of cloth, in which the body was completely wrapped up; and from the head to the feet, a string made of two folds of the same cloth, about an inch wide, was tied, in close circles, all round the body. About the cloth, I cannot say whether it was of *linen* or *cotton*, being of a white yellowish colour, and a little rotted, notwithstanding it was a great deal better preserved, or sound, than that of the usual mummies is. When I opened the cloth, I saw the face of a young girl, about twenty years of age. The *hair*, the *features*, the *flesh*, and the

body, all together, were sound, and in a perfect state, except the nose was turned on one side, which I think was on account of the tightness of the bandages; and the colour of the flesh was as brown as mahogany, yet the flesh itself was flexible. The arms were extended by the sides of the body, and the hands fastened to the legs. On finding neither *jewels* nor *amulet* upon the mummy, our *barbarians* would not cease without completing their *brutality*. They cut the body in pieces, and every one that was present took out his *khandger*, or dagger, and chopped a bit of the flesh!* whereupon I saw the inside of it was like *jelly*, and, from the joints of the bones, the fat was running like oil, the smell of which was as that of rancid butter, or rather like old ham. After all this barbarism was ended, I collected the bones, put them in the cloths, and returned them to the pit again.

* The mummies flesh is used by the Egyptians, and by many people of the East, as a *soldering* remedy or *cement* to broken bones, and as a *strengthener* to weak nerves, &c. &c. If a person met with an accident of breaking some of his bones, they take a bit of mummy flesh, melt it on the fire, and rub (after he is half cured) the injured parts with it! On this account the Arabs, now and then, go into the mummy pits, (chiefly those of *Sackará*,) bring out a mummy, and sell it, *in quarters*, to the druggists of Cairo.

I took a copy of the writings* upon the coffin, and left the wood exposed at the mouth of the pit on purpose. If therefore this place is not known to other travellers, before or after me, it is very easy for any one going to Ashmoonén to see the ancient *Hermopolis*, to inquire about the western desert plain of *Toona El-jabal*, (which, I suppose, is the ancient *Tanis*,) or a little north of *Daldgé wél-Bádramán*, in which the Beys were encamped, and had the last battle with Mohammed Aly, and to look over that neighbourhood from north to south, about half or three-quarters of a mile west of the cultivated lands, where I have no doubt he must find it out. In my humble opinion, this subterraneum probably was the *burial-place* of Hermopolis, as the *colours* of the coffin correspond with *those* which are still to be seen on the remaining magnificent portico of that ancient city.

To return to the Beys:—They remained encamped here (at *Toona El-jabal*) more than a month, during which time a correspondence passed between them and Mohammed Aly,†

* In the year 1815, while I was at Cairo, I gave the only copy that I had of these hieroglyphics to his Excellency *Le Chevalier de Palin*, the Swedish ambassador there, who is a great, and, I can say, the first, antiquarian in that country.

† During this time, another correspondence took place be-

who proposed a treaty of peace, principally originating from his being very doubtful of his success, knowing that the Beys were very terrible in open field; and, moreover, he considered that they were determined to fight most desperately (as they ought to do) till the last one of them. But our *stark-headed* Beys, being confident of the false astrological prophecy, vain of their horsemanship, and proud of their elegant arms and horses, refused to come to any terms with him, while they might make such an agreement as to keep themselves always on very fair bonds!

Having made their arrangements, and formed their plan for the attack, they were most anxious to see Mohammed Aly out in the plain. Early on Monday morning the 21st *Jamad akhar* 1225 of *El-Hegirá*, corresponding, I believe, to the 23d of July, 1810, A. D. Mohammed Aly appeared, with his army, on the plain about three miles north of the Beys; who, al-

tween them and *Soleman Pashá*, successor of Jazzar Pashá, of St. John d'Acra, entreating him to intercede at the Porte of Constantinople for the restoration of the throne of Cairo to them.

Shaheen Bey Elfy likewise wrote to the British Consul at Alexandria, inquiring whether there was any answer received from England to his letters.

though they were quite ready, and most anxiously waiting for him, yet still being blinded in their *astrological* credulity, did not attack him, considering and fully persuaded, that *the men of God, or the angels, guardians of the day*, were not in their support, but in that of Mohammed Aly, being on duty on that day to guard the *northern quarter* of the globe; and that they were not to be in their support on the *southern station*, until Wednesday,* on which day they (the Beys) would make their attack *sure of victory*.

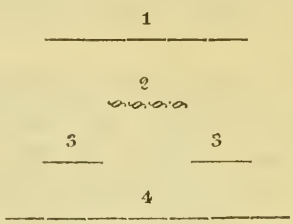
Thus, Monday and Tuesday, the *northern* and *western station days* of the *guardian angels*, were so foolishly wasted on the part of our Beys, that Mohammed Aly was afforded an excellent opportunity of making his arrangements.

During these days and nights, our camp was in the utmost confusion: no one had reposed for an hour complete, no saddle was taken off a horse, and no camel was unloaded; but all of us were laid down on the sand, exposed, at day time, to the heat of that burning sun, and at night alert with the bridles of the horses

* The Mohammedans in general believe that there are angels appointed by the Almighty to guard the world, who every day take their stations in one quarter of the globe; and that *astrologians* can tell the time of their movements!

in our hands, lest we should be assailed by the enemies; and the luggage, with the Beys' ladies, were loaded on the camels, about ten miles from us, in the heart of the Desert! so that, both men and animals were already exhausted beforehand, merely for the beastly judgment and false astrological credulity of our ignorant chiefs.

However, the intended Wednesday (23d Jamad) came, when the Beys divided their forces in four skirs, or battalions, thus :—



The first, or the front one, was composed of all our Bedouins, with a body of Mamlúks, commanded by some Beys of the house Elfy, who were to attack the Bedouins of the Pashá. The second was all the artillery pieces, which amounted to 62. The third was divided into two wings, by the sides of the artillery of a thousand Mamlúks each, headed by Selim Bey Mahramji and the minor Beys. And the fourth was composed of the other three great Beys, viz. Ibrahim Bey El-kebier in the centre, Ossman

Bey Hassan on the extremity of the Desert towards the soil, and Shaheen Bey Elfy towards the mountain; each of whom had 500 of his finest horsemen.

At eight o'clock in the morning, both parties began to move, and by ten the attack took place. The first line made their rush, and succeeded in driving before them the Bedouins of the Pashá. The guns began to work on both sides for about half an hour, when the third line, or the two wings pushed on; but on their reaching the enemies, instead of discharging their carbines, *they bade them "good morning,"* and turned their back towards the mountain! The general in chief, Shaheen Bey, on seeing this treacherous act, hastened to know what the matter was, and to make them return; whereupon he was most atrociously answered, that *"they did it on purpose, in despite of his not having attacked Mohammed Aly, while he was at Ckeman and Maymoon!"*

Now Mohammed Aly, who was trembling in his situation, and never dreamt of such a favourable opportunity, pushed on with all his forces, cavalry and infantry, took possession of the artillery, and dashed upon the fourth battalion, or the three great Beys, who resisted him very gallantly. But Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, on

losing his first horse, immediately retreated with his people. Shaheen Bey Elfy and Ossman Bey Hassan were now left, with their companies, to bear the terror of the field alone. These two *heroes* fought most desperately for about two hours, till the former had lost *three horses*, and himself was saved on the back of his armour-keeper's horse; and the latter lost *two;* besides, about half the number of their brave followers were perished; yet, before they retreated, they left more than 2000 *bodies* of their enemy in the field, for testimony of their *unquestioned heroism*, which Mohammed Aly himself did not deny.

Notwithstanding we were thus defeated, yet our foe luckily did not pursue us to a great length; fearing to encounter the two unfought companies (No. 3), and the return of our Bedouins (who drove his) from behind him. And he wisely returned northward, cheering the victors, till he fell in with our and his Bedouins; when, on hearing of the victory, the latter, of course, were animated, and the former became broken-hearted, and took flight towards us, pursued by all the enemy's cavalry. The confusion now became worse than it was, and the pursuers succeeded in pillaging a considerable part of our camp; in consequence of which every

one of us flew in a different direction, looking for the safety of his life. We were *three* days and *two* nights successively on our route, wandering about those dreary mountains without water, and hardly any food. At last, after we were quite exhausted, and many of our animals had perished, we adventured to descend on Friday evening the 27th July, from the desert north-west of Assiútt, and halted by the canal called *Aboo-Assi*, on the borders of the cultivated lands. We hardly had a little water to extinguish our thirst, and laid down almost like dead, when we heard that our pursuers were at *Manfalútt*, about four hours distant from us. Dreadful confusion was again created in the camp, because both men and animals could scarcely move, and we had to ascend a high summit of the mountain of Assiútt, in order to shorten the way, and to proceed through the heart of the desert. In a word, during the night we crossed this mountain in a most distressing manner, and the next day halted at the plain west of Aboo-teege.

As strong proofs of the treachery of the other Beys (except Ossman Bey Hassan) were, by their infamous behaviour on the day of the battle, clearly manifested towards the

house Elfy, some disgusting matters arose between the parties. But, as Shaheen Bey Elfy became unable to resist the Pashá by himself, he could not separate from them, and patiently bore to continue his alliance,—the disgrace of which he deserved most amply, for not having listened to his father's *testament.* However, we proceeded retreating southward till we came to the desert west of Jerja, where we halted.

Mohammed Aly, still not satisfied with what he had done, and considering that the power of the Mamlúks was yet strong enough to disturb him another time, contrived to dissolve their alliance, and sent Hassan Pashá Arnaoott to Jerja, to offer them a treaty of peace. Ibrahim Bey El-kebier, and Ossman Bey Hassan, as well as the other houses most firmly refused; but Shaheen Bey Elfy most absurdly felt inclined to accept the offer! Afterwards, by Ossman Bey's advice, he declined it. On the Pashá's receiving the complete refusal of them all, he proposed to them, if they wished, to send their *haréms* or wives to Cairo, instead of carrying them so uncomfortably about the Desert.

The Beys, considering Mohammed Aly's proposal was from sincere kindness, (when it was

not intended but as an inducement to them in future,) consented to send their ladies away, thinking it would be less trouble for them.

Elfy Shaheen Bey's wife being very much attached to her husband, and knowing her first master's (the Pashá) character, refused going,* as several of the other ladies did. At last the whole of them were forced by their husbands to go, and so they were sent, when Mohammed Aly received them very kindly.

After the ladies were gone, we proceeded on our route to *Farshútt*, where we halted at the borders of the Desert, and remained some days.

As the inundation of the Nile had already begun, and every where on the cultivated lands was almost full of water, the Beys here resolved to send the luggage through the great desert road across the mountains from *Farshútt* to *Armant*, or to *Rezckat*, which is a very short, but most

* Lady Shaheen Bey had in some way perceived the unhappy end of her husband, who, if she had not gone to Cairo, never would have been induced to make peace with Mohammed Aly again, and resign himself as a *lamb* to the inhuman massacre at the citadel of Cairo; because she was aware that Mohammed Aly was very glad to have her in his power, in order that he might display his tricks upon her husband, through her own correspondence, by compelling her to write whatever he might desire (seemingly directed from her to her husband).

exhausting cut, on account of the immensely steep and rough summits; and that the horsemen only were to continue their way by the borders of the soil. When we left Farshútt, and passed west of *Dendara*, I availed myself of the opportunity to have a hasty inspection of that magnificent temple, of which other travellers have given ample descriptions.

After reposing at *Ballass*, we proceeded to *Tookh*, *Hamadé*, and at last to *Ckorné*, or the west side of *Thebes*, where we quartered in the caves of the mountain there (not *Biban El-Melúk*, or the *Tombs* of the Kings), the inhabitants of which had already deserted.*

* During our stay at *Ckorné*, I took some of the young Mamlúks with me, and went to see the wonderful tombs of the Egyptian kings, which are commonly called *Biban El-Melúk*. I descended into some of those on the west side of the valley, where I saw, in one, an immense granite sarcophagus, (larger than those in the British Museum,) covered up with a mass of the same granite, hewn like a shell, and both full of hieroglyphics. In another, I saw an uncovered one of the same description; and the inside of it was full of rubbish.

After we came out, two of the Mamlúks (who went into those on the south side of the valley) told me, that they had found a *dead body in a painted box* or coffin, like that which I had found at *Toona El-gabal*, lying into a *basin of stone* (meaning sarcophagus), and that the face upon the coffin was of a woman. I then requested them to go to shew it to me; they said that

The Beys' intention was, to relieve themselves and the animals by staying some days in that rocky place, (being naturally a good defence in case of an invasion,) and then rejoin their suite and luggage at Armant; but as the misery and scarcity of every thing began to increase, and antipathy and disunion among themselves sprang out, especially towards the house Elfy, Shaheen

they were hungry and tired, and wished to go back soon, for fear that the Beys should miss them.

On our leaving the valley, we did not come out of its entrance, but we ascended the summit of the southern mountain, and descended towards two colossal statues standing there, which, on account of the grounds being overflowed by the inundation, I could not approach to see. I then went to inspect the ruins of those amazing temples, where, at the southern one, I saw the fragments of a granite colossal figure of a most extraordinary and astonishing size, which I think is supposed to be that of Memnon. I recognised the *head*, all defaced, lying there; a part of the *breast* or *shoulders;* and a part of the *toe*, with the tops of some of the other fingers of the foot; the whole of which is most wonderful! And, in my humble opinion, I believe they are, in proportion, of the same dimension as the *colossal fist* in the British Museum.

However, about the construction, paintings (which look quite fresh), figures, sculptors, hieroglyphics, and magnitude of these extraordinary places altogether, I do not pretend (being not an antiquarian) to give any decided opinion, or any description.

Bey Elfy, although he had Ossman Bey Hassan in his favour, resolved to separate from them, and make peace again with Mohammed Aly. Meanwhile, by a combination of circumstances, it happened that a letter from Lady Shaheen Bey, after her arrival at Cairo, arrived, accompanied with another from Hassan Pashá Arnaott, assuring him of the good will of Mohammed Aly towards him, and advising him not to proceed on with the other Beys; but if he wished, they would intercede for a conclusion of peace between him and his said adversary, who would very sincerely forgive him, &c. &c.

Shaheen Bey, on receiving his wife's letter, (which, no doubt, was written against her wish by the Pashá's compulsion upon her, as she had anticipated—see the *note* in page cxxi), immediately, without any consideration, answered with the acceptance of the proposal! although Ossman Bey Hassan had advised him not to do it.

Mohammed Aly (who was most anxious to demolish the Mamlúks' power as much as he could), on receiving the report of Shaheen Bey's answer, instantly appointed the above-mentioned Hassan Pashá to negociate with him; when the terms were as follows:—That Shaheen Bey

should have again all the provinces that were under his authority before; and that himself, with all his suite, was to reside *in Cairo instead of Giza.**

After they had agreed upon these and a few other trifling terms, *Hóoh* was appointed for the meeting of Shaheen Bey and Hassan Pashá to sign the treaties.

Now Shaheen Bey sent for his luggage and suite to come from Armant; whereupon the other Beys were very angry, and objected to his request: they expressed their wish to seize the luggage, because they said, that they were sure that Shaheen Bey himself and his property were to be a *prey* to the Turks! At last, through the interceding of Ossman Bey Hassan, the luggage came safe, and proceeded northwards.

On Shaheen Bey's departing from the other Beys, Ossman Bey Hassan approached him, put his hand upon his shoulders, and said the following words, with his tears flowing down his cheeks:—"*My son Shaheen, you know very well*

* This most absurd peace with Mohammed Aly again, was the last cause of the total demolition of the house Elfy; for the atrocious design of the Pashá (as it will appear in the following pages) was clearly understood, from his wishing to have Shaheen Bey under his controul at Cairo, and not let him be free at his first residence in Giza.

that I was a sincere friend to your father, and then to you; I see that you neither wished to follow your father's will, nor to listen to my advice; you are now going north, and we going south, but if you do not repent for what you have done, I shall let you shave my beard."*

In September, 1810, we left the other Beys at Ckorné, and came to *Hóoh*, where my employer, Shaheen Bey Elfy, had an interview with Hassan Pashá Arnaóott, and the treaties were signed.

When we parted with the other Beys, some of them did join Shaheen Bey, so that the whole number of his suite was about one thousand men, who had weakened the power of the other Beys by their absurd separation from them, and resigned themselves to the atrocity of Mohammed Aly.

After the treaties were signed, Hassan Pashá told Shaheen Bey to proceed on the west bank of the Nile as far as Assiútt, then to cross over to the east bank, and to continue his journey to Cairo. In a word, we did according to his instruction, and in October, 1810, entered Cairo; where Shaheen Bey was very kindly, but *hypo-*

* The most indignant act that can be offered to a chief, or to any respectable Mohammedan, especially an old man, is that of *shaving off his beard* after its being grown.

critically, received by his *butcher,* Mohammed Aly; and a splendid palace and houses in *Ezbakieh* were assigned for his own and his suite's residence.

Now Mohammed Aly, being sure of the miserable and weak state of the Beys left in Upper Egypt, sent an expedition, under the command of his eldest son, *Ibráhim Pashá,* to drive them out of the kingdom. He pursued them as far as *Ibrim,* till they were compelled to take refuge in *Dongolá* and *Núbia.**

Having thus succeeded in clearing the kingdom from the greatest part of them, he (Mohammed Aly) turned his attention to an atrocious plan to extirpate the *rest,* who had believed his sincerity, and were at his mercy.—When his first expedition against the Wahhabies, in 1811, was nearly ready, and the troops were encamped at *Berket El-hadge,* out of Cairo, he gave a public notice that his second son, *Tóssún Pashá,* was to be created general in chief of the expedition against "*the Anti-Mohammedans,*" and therefore all the military chiefs, including the Beys, of course, were requested to attend the

* Of their distressing existence in those dreary countries, I cannot give any account; but in *Mr. Burckhardt*'s Travels some narration on the subject will be found, as he was in those countries himself.

function at the citadel, on Friday morning, the 6th *Sáfar*, 1226, of *El-Hejira* (22d Feb. 1811, A.D.), and to form the procession of his son to the camp in Berket El-hadge.

Every preparation of splendour and luxury was, naturally, exerted by every chief as much as possible, for the honour of the Pashá and his son, particularly being on a religious enterprise.

The intended, but *horrid* and *mournful* Friday came, when Shaheen Bey Elfy collected all the Beys under his order (except *Ahmed Bey*,* who was then on some business at *Dashoor*) at his palace; the whole of whom were most elegant *Circassians* and *Georgians*, accompanied by their favourite Mamlúks, dressed in the richest uniforms, armed with the most splendid arms, and mounted on the finest horses! They left their homes, wives, and children about nine o'clock in the morning, and proceeded on a grand procession through the city to the citadel, so innocently as so many *lambs to the butchery!*

After they were gone, I mounted my ass, and went to the citadel to see the function. On my arrival at the west gate, called *Bab El-Azab*, it

* Ahmed Bey was next to Shaheen Bey in rank in the house Elfy, and husband to the daughter of Ibrahim Bey El-kebier. See page lxxxv.

was impossible for me to find my way through the crowd of the troops; I then went to the north one, called the *Janissaries gate*, where I left the ass with the servant, and, not without great difficulty, I reached the inner court-yard of the castle. I proceeded through the crowd to the great divan, where I saw the minor Beys with the *kakhiá Bey* only; and I was told, Shaheen Bey was with the Pashá at his apartments on the west side of the divan.

My curiosity induced me to go to the anti-drawing room of the Pashá's apartments, where I saw that the door of the drawing room with the shutters of the windows at the sides, were shut up. I contrived to make my way through the multitude of a mixture of rude troops, (who were rather surprised to see me, the only Christian there,*) till I succeeded in getting a position by the side of one of the windows; but not without being insulted several times. However I ventured to peep through the shutters, where I saw *Mohammed Aly*, *Shaheen Bey Elfy*, *Hassan Pashá*, *Tahér Pashá*, and *Ahmed Bey Arnaóott*, or the Albanies, con-

* The Christians in general, who are subject to the Turks, especially those of Egypt, are very cowards, and they fear a Turkish soldier more than the *devil!*

versing together, and smoking their pipes. A half of an hour after, the *kakhiá Bey* was called in, and ordered to bring the *pellice* intended for the investment of Mohammed Aly's son, to be inspected by Shaheen Bey and the others. The pellice was brought, and highly admired by every one of them. I heard the kakhiá Bey saying, that its value was 25,000 *piastres*, about 1,000*l*. Mohammed Aly inquired whether *Tóssún Pashá*, his son, and every necessary for the procession, were ready, and asked the kakhiá Bey if all the military chiefs had come. He then desired *Shaheen Bey* to superintend, together with the kakhia Bey, the arrangements of the procession, and to prepare all the Beys, of whom he was the head, *to precede immediately* before his son and court!

Shaheen Bey, of course, on the Pashá's request, left the room, and went with the kakhia Bey to the great divan, where all the other Beys and chiefs were; and he began to direct them how to proceed in the procession with their respective suites. Meanwhile, the kakhia Bey was recalled into the drawing-room again, where, after his arrival, the door and shutters were re-shut up, and strict orders given that nobody should approach the windows.

Mohammed Aly, Hassan Pashá, Tahér Pashá,

Ahmed Bey Arnaóott, and the *kakhiá Bey*, remained in a deep conversation above an hour, when the *inhuman and bloody plot* was arranged:* till this moment, none of them was aware of Mohammed Aly's atrocious design! Even the kakhiá Bey himself, who is his prime minister, knew nothing of it!

After the sanguinary consultation was over, the kakhiá Bey returned to the great divan, where *Tóssún Pashá* was playing and laughing with Shaheen Bey and the others.† He (the kakhiá) desired him to walk to his father's apartments, together with the great chiefs there. On his arrival in the drawing room, the pellice

* This most *heinous* and *barbarous plot* was arranged as follows:—That *Ahmed Bey Arnaóott* was to proceed with a strong body of Albanies infantry to the *descent* of the west gate of the castle,* and to place them all about the walls; when the Beys came exactly within the descent, he was to close the lower and upper gates, in order to confine them in the centre, and then to fire immediately upon them from every direction.

† *Tóssún Pashá* was a very fine lively youth, about eighteen or twenty years old.

* The *descent* of the west gate of the castle of Cairo is a narrow passage, about six feet wide, cut through the rock, with two walls, or rather platforms, of the same rock, commanding the passage on both sides; so that the head of a horseman passing through this descent, is always exposed to the mercy of a blow of sword or pistol shot of the persons on the walls.

was put over his shoulders, and he went and kissed his father's hand. Terrible exclamations now of prayers for the Sultan and the Pashá, with cheers of hope for the victory, were heard all over the castle, which was completely crowded with soldiery. The Beys, as well as the other chiefs, paid their congratulations to the Pashá and his proclaimed son, and went to form the procession. The cavalcade began at first with the Janissaries, who proceeded on foot from the court of the castle, followed by the *Dalies*.* The Albanies cavalry was the next to them who went out of the castle; and the innocent Beys were the last who preceded the Pashá's son. More than an hour elapsed till the whole of them left the court of the castle. Mohammed Aly now came out of his apartment, accompanied by Hassan Pashá Arnaóott only, and went to a small room on the stair-case of the divan, looking over the court of the castle. He appeared to me very much agitated, and in a state of the utmost uneasiness—his eyes and face looked fiercely, and full of blood—he was dressed in a blue garment, pink robe, and pink turban:—he is a well-shaped man, about five feet

* A regiment of Turkish cavalry.

six inches high, of light sharp eyes, and reddish beard.

When the court became less crowded, and the cavalcade was yet going out of the principal entrance, I went through the ruins at the west side of the citadel, by the remains of the ancient building called Joseph's hall, which is a short cut, and I came just in contact at the top of the descent, (the walls of which were immensely crowded with troops,) where is a wooden railed gate made by the French, with the end of the Beys' cavalry; I stopped to see *Tóssún Pashá* passing, intending then to go out of the east gate, where I had left my servant with the ass, and to proceed to see the whole procession through the city. But while standing there, among the soldiery, and when the last, except a few, of the Beys' horsemen had passed, I saw, to my utmost horror, (nay, not myself only, but every one of the crowd, even *Tóssún Pashá* himself, saw*) the gate closed, and *Ahmed Bey Arnaóott*, running about the walls and screaming to the troops "*fire!*" who,

* *Tóssún Pashá*, seeing this dreadful scene, thought it was a tumult arose between the Beys and the soldiery, and he immediately ran back with his horse to apprise his father!

being not aware of the plot,* and seeing that if they had extended their arms with the pistols, they must touch, with the muzzles, either a *head* or a *part* of *a human body*, were rather at a loss where to fire, and did not fire immediately! Whereupon Ahmed Bey himself took out his pistol and fired it at one of the Beys;† by doing which, a horrible and unfailing fire was, of course, opened upon them from every direction. The spectacle of the poor innocent victims falling off their horses from one side and from the other, was most awful to every human sense. The languid screaming of them was most shocking to the feelings; and the terror altogether was beyond imagination! The few of them who by chance were not killed or wounded by the first fire, alighted from their horses, but being so dreadfully confined within that narrow passage, could not

* The soldiery were ordered (though the Turks keep always their arms loaded,) to keep their arms ready for a mere precaution, being a day of confusion,—without Ahmed Bey telling them any thing further.

† When Ahmed Bey fired his pistol, one of the Mamlúks drew out his sword, saying, "*Since you come to treachery, take this!*"—and gave him a blow, which, missing his head, wounded him in the arm only.

assist themselves at all; and when the railed gate was opened, after the first firing, they ran (as I did myself) into the castle, seeking for mercy. But with the utmost degree of atrocity, they were pursued by the soldiery, and picked up one by one !*

Shaheen Bey was found among them, slightly wounded in his head and arm: he requested the soldiers who took him to carry him to the presence of Mohammed Aly, who, on hearing that *Shaheen Bey Elfy was still alive*, was so *brutish* and *barbarous* as to order, without any hesitation, *his head to be immediately brought to him !* and *all* the other Beys who were taken prisoners to be also *beheaded!* Poor Shaheen Bey was carried to the door of the mosque, east of the ruins of Joseph's Hall, and there ended his existence. His head was brought to Mohammed Aly, then most cruelly sent to his unhappy wife !† After-

* *Emeen Bey only*, (one of the slaves who had been with Elfy Bey in England) made his escape from the east wall of the castle, by the mint, over the workmens' scaffolding, which was erected for the purpose of repairing that wall; and he is now, I think, with *Soleman Pashá*, of St. John D'Acra.

† *Lady Shaheen Bey* was in a state of utmost agitation and disquietness before he left his palace in the morning. Several times she came down to the bottom of her private cabinet stair-case, and made him to quit the Divan, or public hall,

wards it was skinned, the skin was filled up with straw, and sent to Constantinople.*

The prisoners, or the other Beys, were taken to the stable under the great divan, and from the back gate were carried, like lambs, one after the other, to the ruins by the south wall of the castle, where, to the horror of every feeling of sensibility, they were most inhumanly beheaded!

Dromedaryers were now dispatched with orders from Mohammed Aly to the governors of

with the strangers alone, and to go in, where she embraced and kissed him, with her tears over her cheeks, as if she was aware that she was not to see him any more! She made him put on *two* or *three* different uniforms, in order to see in which he looked best; and at last she dressed him with a splendid *white* one, and a superb India *green* shawl on his head! He was a very fine looking man, about thirty five years old, six feet two inches high, and of a dark complexion. And from the moment he left the palace, she was in dreadful distress and uneasiness, looking out of the windows like a *mad woman;* when, to the horror of every human sense, instead of seeing him *return home*, she saw *his head brought to her* in a handkerchief!!

This most unhappy Lady was afterwards forced by the Pashá, (after she had most firmly refused, and he had threatened her that he would put her into a sack and drown her, if she should not consent,) to marry one of his slaves, named *Hassan* or *Hossén Bey!*

* See the note in the text, page 214.

every province, to seize all the Mamlúks who might be found, or have been sent by Shaheen Bey on business, in the villages, and to send them in chains to Cairo.

About 200 of these unfortunates were collected from the country, and sent to *Old Cairo*, where they likewise were most barbarously beheaded. The whole number of *the poor innocent victims* of this most atrocious and horrible *massacre*, (of which no human sense could form an idea,) was between 6 and 700!

Thus the Mamlúks were *extirpated* from Egypt, and the *house of Elfy extinguished*, except *Emeen Bey*, whom I mentioned in the note in page cxxxv. and *Ahmed Bey*, who was at Dahshoor, as I stated in page cxxviii.: and who, by receiving a letter from his wife at Cairo, succeeded in effecting his escape to *Nubia*.*

To return to my own subject: as I am pressed by my publisher and friends, who tell me that I ought to bring out this book sooner, (although I

* In this history, I have not inserted the *massacre of the few Beys* which took place at *Abookir*, while the English Army was there, because I thought, perhaps, it is well known to the British public.

am afraid, that their anxiety may perhaps be disappointed), I most respectfully beg leave to state, that I shall here cut short, and omit for the present, the account of my narrow escape from the said massacre, and being redeemed from the hands of the Turks, (after I was taken up, stripped, handcuffed, and brought to be beheaded,) by the *chief baker* of the Pashá, a Greek gentleman, named *Athanasi*, to whom I must owe gratitude for my life from that day to the last moment of my existence; my witnessing the horrid decapitation of the Beys; my concealment at the Pashá's Interpreter's house, *Signor Giovanni Bosari;* my employment in his service for protection; my appointment to collect the duties from the *Jellabéh* or the *slave traders*, at Old Cairo, where, by an unfortunate chance, (to render my unhappy luck complete,) I witnessed again, the awful decapitation of the Mamlúks taken from the country; my voyage to Malta, in 1812, on board of an English ship, with a cargo of beans on account of the said Signor Bosari, and my being taken by a French Corsair; my appeal against him at Constantinople, where I succeeded in recovering the ship and cargo; my return to Egypt, and availing myself of the opportunity of an English commissary,

named *Mr. Sweetland*, (who came there to purchase corn) to return in the British service; my employment in the service of the Prussian Consulat, after the death of my first employer, Mr. Petrucci; my voyage to Constantinople, on some official business, by sea and by land from *Adaliá*, or *Satalia*, through Asia Minor as far as *Scútteri;* the siege of *Satalia* by the *Captain Pashá*, in 1814; accidents of the *plague*—my resolution to come to England, when *Sir Robert Liston* was about to quit Constantinople; my arrival to *this happy land;* and the *cause* of my having obtained the accomplishment of my earnest desire to be honoured in the service of the government of this most exalted nation, &c. &c. I cannot however conclude without expressing my most sincere gratitude and obligation, (though in an hasty way at present) to *all my friends*, who were so kind as to support and assist me with their gracious favour on various subjects, *especially* to Sir Robert Liston, the British Ambassador, and his respectable Lady; Le Chevalier D'Italinsky, the late Russian Ambassador; Le Chevalier De Palin, the Swedish Ambassador, and his respectable family; to Conte Ludolf, the late Sicilian Ambassador, (who is the present one in London); Il Signor

Michele Bosovigh the late Prussian Charge d'Affairs; M. Gasparo Testa, the Dutch Charge d'Affairs; and to the Reverend Henry Lindsay, Chaplain to the British Embassy; of Constantinople:—To Mr. Wilkin, of Smyrna; and to Captain William Brigham, of the Midas, with whom I came to England;—To Thomas Elliot, Esq. and his respectable family; James Lindsay, Esq. and his respectable family, *particularly* James Lindsay, jun. Esq. *for many favours;* to Robert Thomson, Esq.; Charles Tottie, Esq.; his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, for *a favour of which he is not aware*; the late Baron Jacobi Kloest, Prussian Ambassador, or to *any of his descendants for ever;* to William Hamilton, Esq. and all his respectable family, *during my life;* to my Lord Castlereagh; to Joseph Planta, Esq.; to Baron Rehausen, the late Swedish Ambassador; M. Anthony Ramadani, the Turkish Minister, for *a favour of which he is not aware;* to Earl Guildford; Lieut. Lempriere, of the Royal Engineers; to Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. *for many favours;* to Mrs. James Colquhoun, and William Gifford, Esq. for *many favours;* to Henry Longlands, Esq.; James Lusignan, jun. Esq.; James Colquhoun, Thomas Maude, John Wray, Esqrs.; and James

Deacon, Esq. and his respectable family, of London; to whom I am not able to return my sincere thanks for the acknowledgement of their kindness, (by which I acknowledge myself particularly bound) but through the *public print*. And I most humbly hope, as I came to England in December 1815, without knowing how to spell "*bread*," that *the reader* will be pleased to pardon *my deficiency* through the whole of this work; which is now humbly laid at the feet of the British Public.—"And it is naturally difficult for a person to foresee his own faults."

A Note respecting the Decree of Mohammed, in page xxii.

After the sheets containing this Decree were printed off, it happened that, as I wanted to look over a map of Egypt, I wrote to my friend, James Deacon, Esq. to lend me Denon's, or any other Travels, with a map of that country, he was so kind as to send me *Pococke's Description of the East.* Finding nothing, in that map, of what I wanted, I looked, out of curiosity, over the Table of Contents, and I saw his Chapter xiv. thus:—"The Patent of Mohammed, which he granted to the Monks of Mount Sinai, and to Christians in general." Page 268. I then turned the leaves, and saw it was an imperfect abstract, with an incorrect date, translated from the modern Greek.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

PART I.

GREAT BRITAIN, being the first country in the world whose humane feelings induced her to turn her attention to the abolition of the detestable dealing in human beings, *the Slave Trade;* she, likewise, felt herself most deeply interested in the abolition of *Christian slavery*, and freeing her European brethren from the depth of misery, to which they had always been subjected by the savage rulers of the Barbary States: she at first sent her representative, Admiral Lord Viscount Exmouth, to Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, to treat with them upon the subject amicably. His

Lordship succeeded in his negociations, and released 1792 persons from their chains. But, after this was settled, the Algerine government, being of an implacable character, infringed the treaty by a most *atrocious massacre* of a number of poor innocent *fishermen*, who had come from the opposite coasts of Europe to the *coral fishery* at Bona. These persons being under the protection of Great Britain, she of course felt much hurt at this violation of the treaty, and a fleet was immediately ordered to be in readiness, under the command of her Hero, to give an ample chastisement to the barbarians of Algiers, and to teach them, that the blood of her brethren was too costly to be thus wantonly shed. In a few days the expedition was ready at Portsmouth, and I was ordered to attend my Lord Exmouth as Interpreter.

On Thursday the 18th of July, 1816, I left London for Portsmouth, where, after my arrival, I went and paid my respects to his Lordship, who ordered me to be ready to embark. Friday the 19th.—As it was bad weather we could not embark. Saturday the 20th.—I received an order to go on board the *Queen Charlotte*, in which the noble lord was already embarked.* Sunday the 21st.—We sailed, but as the wind was contrary, we were obliged to anchor again between Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. Monday the 22d.—We again made sail, but found it impossible to proceed beyond St. Helen's, where we anchored, and remained till Wednesday the 24th; from which place we

* On my going on board the Queen Charlotte, I was accommodated (through the kindness of Lord Exmouth) with a comfortable cabin next to that of Mr. Grimes, (his Lordship's secretary,) with whom I formed an early friendship and intimacy, which has continued ever since without interruption.

sailed with a light breeze. As soon as we got clear of the Isle of Wight, the wind changed, and we did not get to Plymouth till Sunday evening, the 27th.

His Lordship immediately went on shore to see what ships were ready to take with him, and to get them clear as soon as possible to join the fleet.*

Sunday the 28th.—At noon we sailed from Plymouth, having been joined by the Impregnable, a three-decker, under Rear Admiral Sir David Milne; and by the Minden, the Superbe, and the Albion,

* I observed with great astonishment the surprising work of that great *wall*, or *Water Breaker*, which is raised in the middle of such a bay as that of Plymouth; and which, indeed, I think is the most amazing and powerful work in all Europe. I understood, that it is built of very large stones, from four to ten tons weight each; and that its form, in the bottom of the sea, is pyramidical, that is to say, they began to throw the stones into that deep water in a limited line; so that each stone was fixed by itself, till that surprising wall was accumulated by the strength of the sea.—Therefore, it is impossible (they say) that any strength of sea can destroy it.

two-deckers, or seventy-fours; and by several other frigates and brigs, &c.

Our fleet now amounted to twenty-five sail, large and small ships; and steered for Gibraltar with a light breeze. After we left Plymouth, his Lordship gave an order to all the fleet, as the seamen had not been at sea for a long time, to put them in exercise of the guns, twice a day without fire, and once a week with fire. Two or three days after, we had a fine north, and also a west breeze, which, on the 7th of August, brought us in sight of the rock of Lisbon.—Then his Lordship, wishing to assure himself of my humble capacity, gave me the Declaration for the Abolition of Christian Slavery, and his Lordship's letter directed to the Dey of Algiers, and desired me to translate them before our arrival at Gibraltar, for his Lordship

wished to shew them to a person there, who is acquainted with the Arabic and Turkish languages. With this proposal I felt myself quite happy, under the hope to meet with a learned man.

Thursday the 8th.—In the morning came in sight of Cape St. Vincent, we discovered a strange sail; his Lordship sent me on board, with a Lieutenant (Mr. Johnson), to get information.

We found she was a Tripoline polacca, (I am sorry that she was not an Algerine,) called *Massadoda*, Captain *Omar*, of 16 guns and 105 men, fifty days from Tripoli, and five from Tangiers: the captain knew nothing about the Algerines, and when I asked him for what purpose he came out of the Strait of Gibraltar, he was quite in confusion to answer me, and said, that he only came to look after some of the Ham-

burghers, Bremens, and Lubeckers, for some old concerns they have with them.

Friday the 9th.—At an early hour we came with a famous breeze in sight of the two coasts, of Spain and of Morocco; and just at the time of our fire exercise that day, we were opposite Trafalgar, on the spot of that glorious and memorable battle; and indeed it was the most delightful sight to observe all those ships making so rapid and sharp an exercise in that same place. At 2 o'clock, P.M. we anchored in the Bay of Gibraltar, where we found five Dutch frigates and a corvette, commanded by Admiral Van Cappellan, who had been at Algiers to try to deliver their slaves, and make a treaty of peace with the Dey, &c. But his force being insufficient, he went away again, and came to Gibraltar, to wait for and join our fleet under Lord Exmouth.

His Lordship immediately went on shore to solicit every necessary thing for the fleet; and gave an order to put in readiness five gun-boats, lying there, to join the fleet.—After his Lordship returned on board, the Dutch Admiral, Van Cappellan, came and paid his respects to Lord Exmouth, who received him with great ceremony, firing fifteen guns when he came on board, and fifteen on his going, and the soldiers presenting arms, with the band on deck; and his Lordship came and received him on the quarter-deck, as usual.—Admiral Van Cappellan is a very mild and good tempered old officer, about sixty-five years of age, rather thin, and of the middle size.

Saturday the 10th.—His Lordship gave orders to the fleet to take off all the cabins which are made on board of every ship, and to keep all the decks clear, from the

poop to the head, for the management of the guns; and that every ship should send on shore the timbers of the cabins, as well as all things that were not necessary for the battle; and that instead of timber, cabins should be made of several partitions of canvass. This order was directly executed on board the Queen Charlotte; and all our baggage was sent down to the cockpit, and we all slept under screens made of old canvass. It was indeed a very fine sight, to see all the decks clear, from the poop to the head, and on each side sixteen or seventeen guns, all put in symmetrical lines, and in good order.

Having got the translations of the declaration and letter before-mentioned, for the Dey of Algiers, ready at the time desired by Lord Exmouth; his Lordship told me to take them and go with him and Mr. Grimes on shore.

After we got to the Governor's house, a Jew gentleman was brought to me, called Mr. Taurel, who is employed there as interpreter for the coast of Morocco. I am sorry to say that he was not acquainted either with the pure Arabic or with the Turkish languages; he only knew the Moorish language, that is, a dialect of a very corrupt kind of Arabic, both in writing and speaking. But having made my translations into the three languages, pure Arabic, Turkish, and Moorish, I shewed him the last, which he declared to be a correct translation; and, in consequence of his report, his Lordship was perfectly satisfied.

Sunday the 11th.—His Lordship gave orders to put in exercise all the boats of the fleet, with the marines, and the gunboats. It was a very pretty sight to see fifty or sixty boats in a line, in good order,

with their different flags, regulating their fire by the word of command; and afterwards they all rowed towards the coast in order for landing, which formed a very interesting prospect.

Monday the 12th.—The fleet was nearly ready, but being quite calm, we could not sail.

This day I witnessed, I think, the most delightful sight in the world; and I believe, there are very few persons who have had the chance to profit by such an opportunity. It being the birth-day of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, at one o'clock we hoisted the royal standard on board the Queen Charlotte with a salute of twenty-one guns, and at the same time every ship lying in the bay of Gibráltar did the same. But the most splendid show was, that after the naval ceremony was ended, every bat-

tery round the rock, from the top to the bottom, as well as all the fortifications of Gibraltar, began to fire their guns, and before all the guns were fired it was about three o'clock. It really was the most magnificent and grand sight that could be seen.

Tuesday the 13th.—We were with all the fleet quite ready to sail, but could not because of a strong easterly wind.

Wednesday the 14th.—It was calm in the morning, however his Lordship gave orders for the fleet to be ready to sail.

A light breeze came from the S. W. and we all weighed and made sail.

Our fleet now amounted to thirty-five sail, including the six Dutch ships and five gun-boats which we took from Gibraltar.

It was indeed a most delightful sight to see all this noble fleet under sail at once in the bay of Gibraltar. Every body was

struck with astonishment that such a fleet could have been got ready in so short a time.

After we passed the rock we had the wind from the west; and on the next day at noon we were in sight of the island of *Alboran*, which is about a third of the distance from Gibraltar to Algiers.

Having at this time got ready the translations of Lord Exmouth's letter to the Dey, as well as the Declaration for the Abolition of Christian Slavery, written in three languages, that is, English, Turkish, and in Moorish, I said to his Lordship that being accustomed to the Turks and those people's manners, I should like to go on shore, if he pleased, with the despatches, merely to see and to observe in what confusion they might be. His Lordship replied, that our despatches being translated into their own languages, they could un-

derstand all our demands; it was therefore not necessary to send me on shore, because he knew very well what kind of treacherous people they were; and in case they should kill me, then he should be in want of another person to fill my place.

Friday the 16th.—The wind changed from north to east; and in the evening we spoke with the corvette Prometheus, Captain Dashwood. She had been sent on before to bring off the British Consul from Algiers, but Captain Dashwood could only take off the Consul's family; and the Consul himself was detained by the Dey under the following circumstances;—that the Dey having heard of our expedition through the French papers,* he fell into great sus-

* The Dey cannot read or write even his own language; he had heard of our expedition through the French papers, by information of one of the *European Consuls* at Algiers who speaks the Turkish language.

picion when the Prometheus arrived there; and when he discovered that the Consul's wife and daughter had embarked, disguised in midshipmen's clothes,* he refused to let the Consul go, and immediately put him in chains and confined him in a small room on the ground-floor of his house, and seized his property at his country-house; and moreover, detained two boats with eighteen men belonging to the Prometheus employed in bringing off the Consul's family, and put them in chains

But afterwards he was strongly ascertained by verbal and detailed report from the French frigate, *La Ciotat*, which had been sent there.

* The Dey had discovered the embarkation of the Consul's family under the following circumstances: Mr. M'Donell, the Consul, had a female Jew servant as a nurse to his child; and when his wife and daughter were embarked, she felt it her duty to go and announce it to the Jewish rabbi, who immediately, for fear of bringing the Jew nation into danger, went and apprized the Dey of what had happened.

and sent them out of town with the other slaves.

When Captain Dashwood heard of this unjust act, he remonstrated warmly with the Dey; but all his complaints being unattended to, he was obliged to sail to rejoin Lord Exmouth, leaving his unfortunate countrymen in captivity.

These proceedings of the Dey being displeasing to Lord Exmouth, the Prometheus was ordered to follow us; and, on this account, his Lordship immediately added to his despatches another letter to the Dey concerning the Consul, and the boats belonging to the Prometheus, &c.

While the Prometheus lay at Algiers, a Danish merchant ship was there; and the Dey asked the captain if he knew any thing about our expedition; the Dane answered that he heard that England had sent a strong fleet to Algiers.

The Dey replied, let them come. The Danish captain said, very likely they come with a great quantity of shells. The Dey in reply said, when they send me their shells I shall hang them in my rooms like these *melons*.*

Then the Dane told him, now you say so because you do not know what the English shells are; but I was at Copenhagen when they came there, and I know what their shells are.

The foul wind continued very strong till Saturday the 24th, in consequence of which we became impatient at this delay. During this time, his Lordship having arranged his plan, for the situation of the fleet, and for the attack, according to his knowledge of the place, of which a sketch

* In Algiers there is a great quantity of *water-melons*, and for preserving this fruit from one year to another they hang them to the *tops* of their *rooms*.

had been taken some time ago, he called on board the Queen Charlotte, Admiral Milne, and Admiral Van Cappellan, as well as all the Captains of the fleet to acquaint them with the intended plan, that every body might know his place, and every Captain was to direct his position by the Queen Charlotte's; except, that the Bombs were to take their positions out of gun shot.

His Lordship wishing to make an experiment for proving the effect of a machine which had been lately invented for directing the *aim* to the desired point, ordered a bottle, secured with string, to be placed in a frame about four feet square, and to fix it with a long stick on the end of the fore yard, and to try with an eighteen pounder, brought in the middle of the quarter deck, to take aim by that machine, and to break the bottle without injuring the frame. After this astonishing experi-

ment had perfectly succeeded, his Lordship considered that a bottle was too large; and being of glass, he ordered instead of it, a round piece of wood about five inches diameter, and ten inches long, to be put up. It was indeed a most surprising thing to see the effect of the shot on that bit of wood, how it was sometimes chipped from one side, and sometimes from the other; and many times was entirely carried away.

When his Lordship and all the officers of the fleet were quite persuaded of the effect of this valuable invention, they were very glad at having ascertained what the effect of our shells would be on Algiers.

On Sunday the 25th, we had a fair wind for a short time; on Monday the 26th, it was calm again, but we were now in sight of Cap *Cazzina*, the northern Cap of Al-

giers Bay. On this day I offered myself again, to go on shore, if Lord Exmouth wished to send me, with the despatches; whereupon, his Lordship observed, that it would be better for me to change my Turkish costume, and to put on the European dress; for, knowing the Algerines to be a treacherous people, his Lordship thought I should be less exposed in the English costume; and told me, that I was the next day to attend Lieutenant Burgess in the *Severn*, under a flag of truce, to carry the letters to the Dey, and, not to land, but to wait in the boat, within a short distance from shore, till they came with their own boat; and then we were to deliver them the letters with a long stick, without letting them come near to us; and to be on our guard to defend ourselves, and to return immediately, if they attempted to commit any insult upon us;

and not wait more than two or three hours for an answer.

These letters of his Lordship to the Dey, contained, in substance, the same demands which were afterwards acceded to by him, *viz.*

The abolition of Christian slavery;

The delivery of all Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers;

The restoration of all the money that had been paid for the redemption of slaves by their Majesties the King of the Two Sicilies, and the King of Sardinia;

Peace with His Majesty the King of the Netherlands;

And, the immediate liberation of the British Consul, and the two boats' crews of His Majesty's ship the Prometheus.

The following is a copy of the Declaration for the abolition of Christian slavery,

which was confirmed and ratified by the Dey, in the subsequent negociations.

Declaration of His Most Serene Highness Omar Pashaw, Dey and Governor of the Warlike City and Kingdom of Algiers, made and concluded with the Right Honourable Edward Baron Exmouth, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath; Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Britannic Majesty's Fleet, and Commander-in-Chief of His said Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean.

In consideration of the deep interest manifested by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England, for the termination of Christian slavery, His Highness the Dey of Algiers, in token of his sincere desire to maintain inviolable his friendly

relations with Great Britain, and to manifest his amicable disposition and high respect towards the powers of Europe, declares that, in the event of future war with any European power, not any of the prisoners shall be consigned to slavery, but treated with all humanity as prisoners of war, until regularly exchanged, according to European practice in like cases; and that at the termination of hostilities, they shall be restored to their respective countries without ransom; and the practice of condemning Christian prisoners of war to slavery, is hereby formally and for ever renounced.

Done in duplicate, in the warlike city of Algiers, in the presence of Almighty God, the 28th day of August, in the year of Jesus Christ, 1816, and on the 6th day of the moon of the month Shawoal, in the year 1231 of the *Hejira*.

Copy of a Note for the signature of the Dey, if he accepts the Terms offered him by Lord Exmouth.

I do hereby accept without reservation, and to the fullest extent, the terms offered me by Admiral Lord Exmouth, in the name and on the behalf of the Prince Regent of England; and I faithfully promise to keep and execute the same, in all their parts, without the least delay; and the slaves and the money shall be sent directly off.

Tuesday the 27th.—In the morning it was calm, and we were in sight of Algiers, about four or five leagues distant. At five o'clock, A. M. having put on my English dress, his Lordship gave me the two letters, one for the Dey, and the other

for the Consul, and ordered me to go on board the *Severn* with the Flag-Lieutenant, Mr. Burgess, (now Captain)—and after the Severn was advanced into the bay, we were to go on shore with a boat under a *flag* of *truce*; and, if the Dey gave us an answer we were to make such a signal; and if none, we were to make another signal, &c. &c.

Upon my going from the Queen Charlotte to the Severn, all the officers said to me, "*Salamé*, if you return with an answer from the Dey, that he accepts our demands without *fighting*, we will kill you instead."—I was much delighted with this, to see the bravery and determination of the English nation.

When we got on board the Severn, we discovered a French frigate at anchor inside of the bay, which, upon her seeing the fleet, made sail; his Lordship then or-

dered Captain Maitland of the Glasgow to visit her, and get some information from the French captain, (Lieutenant *Ranoir*, commander of *La Ciotat,)* who pretended every kind of ignorance, and would tell us nothing.

At 9 o'clock it being still calm, and the Severn not able to get on very fast, his Lordship made signal for us (me and the Flag-Lieutenant) to go with the boat; then we got into a boat with six seamen, and took with us, secretly, six muskets, for precaution, to defend ourselves in case of treachery; and rowed towards the city hoisting our flag of truce. After we got opposite the móle at 11 o'clock, the Dey sent a boat to meet us, with the Captain of the Port, who wanted to get near us. I told him to keep at a distance; he asked, why we were afraid? we have, he said, not got the plague in Algiers. I told him, I was

not afraid of the plague, but said, you have detained two of our boats, with eighteen men, unjustly.

He made no reply to this, but in a confused manner asked, if our admiral was Lord Exmouth, and how he was?

In order to return the compliment, I made similar inquiries about the Dey, and gave him the first letter, placed at the end of a long stick:—Before he received it in his hand, he asked if it was for the Consul?

I said, no; it was for the Dey, to whom present Lord Exmouth's compliments, and say, that an answer is expected in one hour. He answered, that it was impossible to give an answer to such serious business by that time.

I then replied, we shall wait here in the boat two or three hours, that you may have time enough; and, if you do not

come by that time, we are instructed to return on board directly.

He then said, that two hours time was quite sufficient, and that he would come back with the Dey's answer by that time: he asked, whether the answer would do if it was written in Turkish? I told him, it did not matter, whether in Turkish or Arabic.

Having observed his humble and confused manner, I gave him, by my hand, the other letter for the Consul, and asked how he (the Consul) was, as well as our people of the Prometheus?—he said, they were all quite well; and the Consul was in his town house. I replied, You must deliver this letter into the Consul's hand, and let me have both the answers, of the Dey and of the Consul.

Very well, he answered, I am going to deliver the letters, and I shall come back

and tell you, whether the Dey will give an answer or not:—He then invited us to come inside the mole, or to land, because the heat of the sun was very strong; I thanked him for his kind offer, (the consequence of accepting which, would have been the loss of our heads,) and refused, saying, that the heat of the sun did not affect us; and I told him, if the Dey wished to send any of his officers to treat with the Admiral, he would be received with great politeness, and returned in the same manner. He replied, I hope it will be so, and went away.

After the Captain of the Port went and we were left by ourselves, within pistol shot of thousands of those barbarous people, (who were on the walls, and out and inside the batteries,) and knowing their treacherous character, and hearing their

impertinences, I then thought of the great danger in which we were; but I could only console myself with reflecting, that no body in this world could obtain the end of his wishes without exposing himself to perils. And we began to pass our time in observing the fine situation of the city, the strong fortifications of the mole, and their great preparations, &c. &c.

Algiers is situated upon steeps, between two hills, rising up almost to their tops; and is of a triangular shape, with a circumference, I think, of *four miles:* The buildings are all of white stone, and being surrounded with gardens and cultivated lands, afford a very pretty sight.

Their fortifications, for such a small place, are indeed very strong.—On the north side, about a mile from the town,

there is a small castle,* and several batteries, one after the other; and the last is joined to the north wall of the city.

From this wall to the mole, there are several batteries more, because the mole is situated in the middle of the third part of the city, which is on the sea side. On the north head of the mole, there is a semicircular battery of *two tiers* of 44 guns, called the *Lion*'s battery, the guns of which bear on the *north*, on the *east*, and on the *south*.

After this is another round one, of three tiers, and of 48 guns, in the middle of which there is built a tower, or lighthouse; and they call it the Light-house battery.—This is supported by another, a long one, still more strong, of three tiers, containing

* From this north side they do not fear any thing, because there is not water enough for anchorage, nor for landing.

66 guns, and called the *Eastern* battery.* This is flanked by four others, of two tiers, one joined to the other, which contain 60 guns, directed towards the south east, and the south.

On the south head of the mole, there are two large guns, sixty-eight-pounders, and, I believe, of twenty feet long.† This is the description of the north side of the town, and of the whole of the mole.

I shall now describe the fortifications of the south side of the town, which is next the south head of the mole:—Almost opposite to it, there are on the city side two small batteries of 4 guns each; but these are followed by a strong battery of 20 guns,

* The Impregnable unfortunately was obliged to lie opposite this battery, by which she was very much cut up.

† The Queen Charlotte was under these two heavy guns, one of which (a most astonishing thing) was thrown with its carriage into the sea, and the other was knocked off its carriage by a shot in its mouth.

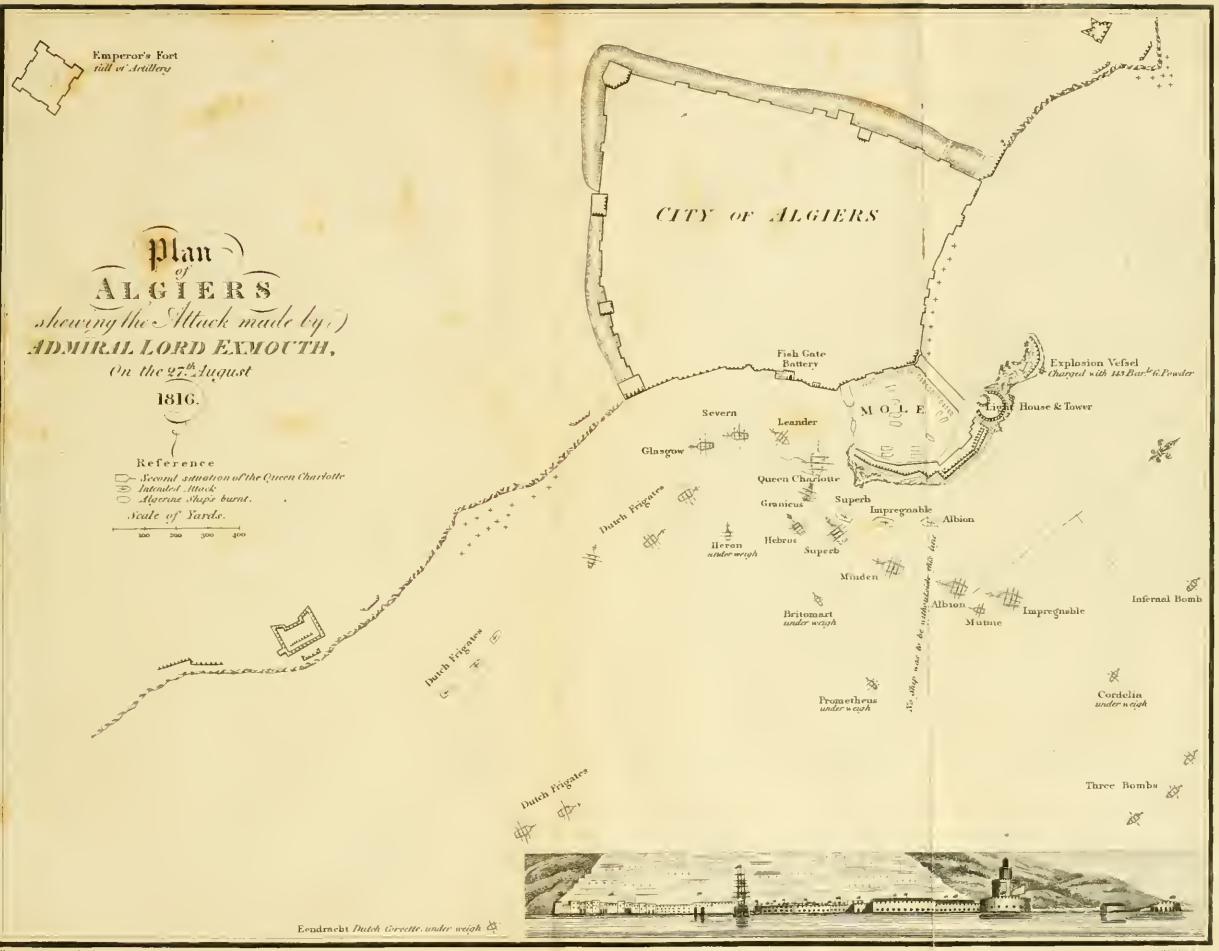
and a very ancient building, situated upon two large arches, through which they pass to the fish-market into the city, and they call it the Fish-market battery.* From this to the south wall of the city, there are two batteries more; and from that to a distance of about one mile and a half south, there are several other batteries, and a large castle.† These are their fortifications on the sea side; but the rest of the works round the walls of the city, and the two castles situated upon the hills, were too far for me to observe them well, and therefore, I cannot pretend to give any description of them; but they say, that the whole of their fortifications mounted

* The Leander was opposite this extraordinary battery, on which the shot had little effect, and the Leander was very badly cut up from it.

† The Dutch squadron was opposite these batteries and this castle, where they honourably did their duty.

1,500 guns. The annexed plan will convey to the reader a sufficient idea of the spot. Their preparations were in great anxiety; they were occupied in bringing all their gun-boats from the inside of the mole, and putting them in good order on the city side, where there were no batteries. I counted thirty-six or thirty-eight gun-boats, which were in two lines, as the half of a hollow square, with their red silk flags on; and nine frigates, lying in different positions.

During this time of our waiting to receive the Dey's answer, a breeze sprung up, and the fleet advanced into the bay, and lay-to at about a mile off Algiers.—It was now half-past two, and no answer coming out, notwithstanding we had staid half an hour longer than our instruction, and the fleet being almost opposite the town *with a fine breeze*, we thought pro-



From an original plan

London Published as the Act directs by John Murray Albemarle Street June 1819

VIEW OF THE MOLE & BATTERIES WITH PART OF THE TOWN FROM THE SEA

per, after having done our duty, to lose no more time, but to go on board and inform his Lordship of what had happened.

Mr. Burgess, the flag-lieutenant, having agreed with me, we hoisted the signal, that "*no answer had been given;*" and began to row away towards the Queen Charlotte. At this time I was very anxious to get out of danger; for, knowing their perfidious character, and observing that Lord Exmouth, on his seeing our signal, immediately gave order to the fleet to bear up, and every ship to take her position for the attack, I had great fear that they (the Algerines) would fire upon us;—in short, till I reached the Queen Charlotte, I was almost more dead than alive. After I had given my reports to the Admiral, of our meeting with the Captain of the Port, and our waiting there, &c. I was quite surprised to see how his Lordship was altered from what I left him in the

morning; for I knew his manner was in general very mild, and now he seemed to me *all-fightful*, as a *fierce lion*, which had been chained in its cage, and was set at liberty.—With all that, his Lordship's answer to me was, "*Never mind, we shall see now;*" and at the same time, he turned towards the officers saying, "*Be ready:*" whereupon I saw every one standing with the *match* or the *string of the lock* in his hand, most anxiously waiting for the word "*Fire!*"

I remained on the poop with his Lordship, till the Queen Charlotte passed through all the enemy's batteries, without firing a gun. There were many thousand *Turks* and *Moors* looking on astonished, to see so large a ship coming all at once inside of the mole, without caring for anything. When we opened over the mole head, I saw, as I thought, a boat coming out, which I supposed was that of the

Captain of the Port, and told his Lordship of it; but on looking with a glass, we found the mistake.

During this time, the Queen Charlotte in a most gallant and astonishing manner, took up a position opposite the head of the mole, and we let go the anchor at three quarters past two o'clock, within eighty yards from the mole head batteries: but afterwards, having found that we had not more than two feet water under the bottom of the Queen Charlotte, his Lordship let go the cable for twenty yards more; and so we were within about one hundred yards of the mouths of their guns;—when Lord Exmouth took a position in such a masterly style, that not more than four or five guns could bear on us from the mole; though we were exposed to the fire of all their other batteries, and musketry, we gave them three *cheers*; and the batteries, as well

as the walls, being crowded with troops, they jumped on the top of the parapets to look at us, for our broadside was higher than their batteries; and they were quite surprised to see a three-decker, with the rest of the fleet, so close to them. From what I observed of the Captain of the Port's manner, and of their confusion inside of the mole, (though they were making great preparations,) I am quite sure, that even themselves were not aware of what they were about, nor what we meant to do; because, according to their judgment, they thought that we should be terrified by their fortifications, and not advance so rapidly and closely to the attack. In proof of this, I must observe, that at this point their guns were not even loaded; and they began to load them after the Queen Charlotte and almost all the fleet had passed their batteries.—At a few minutes before three, the

Algerines, from the Eastern battery, fired the first shot at the Impregnable, which, with the Superb and the Albion,* was astern of the other ships, to prevent them from coming in; then Lord Exmouth, having seen *only the smoke* of the gun before the sound reached him, said, with great alacrity, "*That will do; fire, my fine fellows!*" and I am sure, that before his Lordship had finished these words, our broadside was given, with great cheering, which was fired three times within five or six minutes; and at the same instant the other ships did the same.—This first fire was so terrible, that

* The Superb and the Albion had almost reached their proper positions, but the Impregnable being rather slow, and the Algerines having opened a tremendous fire upon her, and the smoke being so thick that she could not distinguish her exact position, Admiral Milne was obliged to lie in that situation and begin the attack; and thus, unfortunately, was exposed to the Eastern and the Lighthouse batteries, which were very strong.

they say more than five hundred persons were killed and wounded by it. And I believe this, because there was a great crowd of people in every part, many of whom, after the first discharge, I saw running away, under the walls, like dogs, walking upon their feet and hands.

After the attack took place on both sides in this horrible manner, immediately the sky was darkened by the smoke, the sun completely eclipsed, and the horizon became dreary. Being exhausted by the heat of that powerful sun, to which I was exposed the whole day ; and my ears being deafened by the roar of the guns, and finding myself in the dreadful danger of such a terrible engagement, in which I had never been before, I was quite at a loss, and like an astonished or stupid man, and did not know myself where I was. At last, his Lordship, having perceived my situa-

tion, said, "*You have done your duty, now go below.*" Upon which I began to descend from the quarter deck, quite confounded and terrified, and not sure that I should reach the cockpit alive; for it was most tremendous to hear the crashing of the shot, to see the wounded men brought from one part, and the killed from the other; and especially at such a time to be found among the *English seamen!* and to witness their manners, their activity, their courage, and their cheerfulness during the battle!—it is really most overpowering and beyond imagination.

On this subject I wish to give only one remark:—While I was going below, I was stopped near the hatchway by a crowd of seamen who were carrying two wounded men to the cockpit; and I had leisure to observe the management of those heavy guns of the lower deck; I saw the com-

panies of the two guns nearest the hatchway, they wanted some *wadding*, and began to call "*wadding*, *wadding!*" but not having it immediately, two of them swearing, took out their knives and cut off the *breasts* of *their jackets* where the buttons are, and rammed them into the guns instead of *wadding*. I was really astonished to see such extraordinary magnanimity.

At last I reached the cockpit; when Mr. Dewar, the surgeon, Mr. Frowd, the chaplain, and Mr. Somerville, the purser, with some other friends, met me, and began to congratulate me on my safe return, for they never expected that I should escape; and they gave me something to eat and to drink, but I could eat nothing, I only drank a little wine and water. Now I wished to assure myself if I was out of danger or not, I asked them how much we were above water? They told me that we

were pretty safe, because the cockpit was about two or three feet below the water-mark, and that I had nothing to fear, as I was now out of the greatest danger.

Upon this, I was rather relieved,—but having heard that several shots had passed through the Queen Charlotte between wind and water, and that the carpenter had been to stop the leaks, I then lost the idea of being quite safe, and I walked in the cockpit always fearful.—Afterwards, observing that the action was going on without any appearance of soon ceasing, I began to encourage myself by thinking, that every living being is uncertain of his existence, and that, throughout our life, we are continually exposed to the mercy of circumstances. And thus, I commenced assisting those poor wounded people after they were dressed; for, humanity and na-

tural sensibility, at such a dreadful time, call upon every body to have pity, and to help the unfortunate.—Some of them could not walk; some could not see; and some were to be carried from one place to another. It was indeed a most pitiable sight; —but I think the most skocking sight in the world, is that of taking off *arms* and *legs;* in preference to beholding which, if I was a military man, I should certainly prefer to be on deck than being with the Doctor in the cockpit.

From curiosity, I wished to observe the Doctor's operations. But while I was attending to the first one, which was that of taking off an arm, I could not bear it, and felt myself fainting away, especially when the Doctor began to saw the bone! I then went out of sight. At this time, I saw Lieutenant John Frederick Johnstone come

down to the cockpit, wounded in his cheek. —After he had been dressed, and remained for a short time, laughing at me, he asked me to help him to put on his coat, and went to the hatchway, wishing to go on deck again; I then held him from behind by the shoulders to make him stop, and said, "Where are you going? you are wounded." In reply he said, "I am very well now, I must go." And so he went directly.

After two hours time, I saw him, poor fellow, brought down to the cockpit again, by four seamen, with his left arm taken off quite from his shoulder, and it only hung by a little bit of flesh.

When I met him in that horrible state, he could not bear to be carried on, but wished to be laid down where he was; and began to call, "The Doctor, the Doctor;"

when we all took care of him, and the doctor immediately came, and took off his arm quite from the joint of his shoulder. I saw that all the side of his breast was horribly torn. After he was dressed, we laid him on a *sofa*, with great care, and were all very sorry, because we never expected that he would live.*

* After he had been for a week between life and death, the doctor began to give us some hope; and so by degrees we saw him almost out of danger, and shook hands with him: when some days after, he wrote a letter to his friends in England, and we were all happy at seeing him getting better; (although the doctor still feared, that his wound would bleed again;) and Lord Exmouth brought him to his own *cabin*, where his Lordship took great care of him in every way.—Better indeed would it have been had our hearts been hurt by the grief of his death, all at once, when he was first wounded, than to have him with us for thirty-six days after the battle, and then to bury him before his home! This melancholy event gave us a double-sorrow. This brave and unfortunate young officer was about twenty-five years old; he was wounded

About this time, I was sorry to see my friend Mr. Grimes (his Lordship's secretary) conducted below; he had received several wounds from splinters, and was obliged to quit the deck from loss of blood.

Having seen that the battle was going on favourably, and that the Algerines after fighting extremely well for about five hours, began to slacken their firing,* and that our

on the 27th of August, and continued to get better till the 27th of September.—On the 28th his wound bled again; when the doctor was obliged to cut the flesh and to take up that vein, in order to stop the blood.—But poor Johnstone being very thin and weak, he survived the operation five days only; and at six o'clock in the evening of the 3d of October, departed this world.—At twelve on the next day he was buried in the sea, when we came opposite Plymouth, with great honour and ceremony; eleven guns were fired very slowly one after the other, the royal standard was waved over his coffin, and the flags in all the ships were hoisted at half mast; and his Lordship with all the officers were at his funeral.

* On the main and foretops of the Queen Charlotte,

seamen, every time that an Algerine frigate took fire, or any of the batteries were destroyed, gave a loud cheer, I began to have more courage, and jump up, now and then, to the lower deck to see what was going on; and so, for the rest of the action, I employed myself in passing the empty powder boxes to the magazine; because, I found it more agreeable than attending the doctor.

I observed, with great astonishment, that during all the time of the battle, not one seaman appeared tired, not one lamented the dreadful continuation of the fight;

we had two pieces of 12-pounders, which we worked into their batteries with 280 musket-balls each discharge. They were terrified and astonished to see the balls falling upon them from the *masts* of the ship like *hail!* by which we had almost swept all the men who were on the parapets, and prevented them from working the upper row of their guns.

but on the contrary, the longer it lasted, the more cheerfulness and pleasure were amongst them;* notwithstanding, during the greater part of the battle, the firing was most tremendous on our side, particularly from this ship, (the Queen Charlotte,) the fire of which was kept up with equal fury, and never ceased, though his Lordship in several instances wished to cease firing for a short time, to make his observations, and it was with great difficulty that he could make the seamen stop for a few minutes.

Several of the guns were so hot, that they could not use them again; some of them, being heated to such a degree, that when they fired them, they recoiled with

* I was told, that some of the seamen's wives on board the *Severn* had employed themselves during the battle, in helping their husbands by passing them powder and shot.

their carriages and fixed the wheels by making holes in the planks of the deck; and some of them were thrown out of their carriages, and so rendered quite useless.

At eleven o'clock, P. M. his Lordship having observed the destruction of the whole Algerine navy, and the strongest parts of their batteries, with the city, made signal to the fleet to move out of the line of the batteries; and thus with a favourable breeze, we cut our cables, as well as the whole of the squadron, and made sail, when our firing ceased at about half past eleven.

When the action was over, Mr. Stair (the gunner) came out from the magazine, and said, that he was about seventy years old, and that in his life, he had been in more than twenty actions, but that he never knew, or heard of any action that

had consumed so great a quantity of powder as this.*

After the ships had hauled out, without any danger, (although the Algerines began to throw some shells from the higher castles) I went on the poop to see his Lordship, and to observe the effect of our shot on the enemy's batteries, and to behold the destruction of their navy, which, at this time, with the storehouses within the mole, was burning very rapidly.

The blaze illuminated all the bay, and the town with the environs, almost as clear as in the day time; the view of which, was really most awful and beautiful; nine frigates, and a great number of gun-boats with other vessels, being all in flames, and carried by the wind to different directions in the bay.

* In another part of the narrative, I shall give a list of the quantities of powder and shot, which were expended in this glorious battle.

I observed, with great surprize, how, in these nine hours time, our shot had effected so horrible a destruction of their batteries; instead of walls, I saw nothing but heaps of rubbish, and a number of people dragging the dead bodies out.

When I met his Lordship, on the poop, his voice was quite hoarse, and he had two slight wounds, one in the cheek, and the other in his leg.—Before I paid him my respects, he said to me, with his usual gracious and mild manner, "Well, my fine fellow Salamé, what think you now?" In reply I shook hands with his Lordship, and said, "My Lord, I am extremely happy to see your Lordship safe, and I am so much rejoiced with this glorious victory, that I am not able to express, in any terms, the degree of my happiness."

It was indeed astonishing to see the coat of his Lordship, how it was all cut up by musket balls, and by grape; it was

behind, as if a person had taken a pair of scissars and cut it all to pieces. We were all surprised, at the narrow escape of his Lordship.

At one o'clock in the morning, we anchored, with all the fleet, in the middle of the bay; immediately after, Admiral Van Cappellan came on board; and after having paid his congratulations to his Lordship, he said, "My Lord, I am quite happy if I die now, after having got full satisfaction from these pirates; and we owe a great deal to your Lordship for your gallant position, with the Queen Charlotte, which was the safety and the protection of more than five hundred persons of our squadron."

After we had anchored, his Lordship, having ordered his steward in the morning, to keep several dishes ready, gave a grand supper to the officers of the ship, and

drank to the health of every brave man in the fleet.

We also drank to his Lordship's health, and then every body went to sleep, almost like dead men.

END OF PART I.

PART II.

On the morning after the battle, Wednesday the 28th of August, Admiral Lord Exmouth wrote the following letter to the Dey.

(Copy)

To His Highness the Dey of Algiers.

Sir,

For your atrocities at Bona, on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, in the name of the Prince Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total

destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries. As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country; and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace, which I conveyed to you yesterday, in my Sovereign's name: without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England. If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and I shall renew my operations at my own convenience.

I offer you the above terms provided neither the British Consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you, from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment, or any of the Christian slaves in your power: and

I repeat my demand, that the Consul, and officers and men, may be sent off to me, conformably to ancient treaties.

(Signed) EXMOUTH.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, 28th Aug. 1816.

After I had translated this letter, his Lordship gave it to me, and ordered me to accompany Lieut. Burgess on shore again, to deliver it, and to wait for an answer as yesterday ; and at the same time gave orders to the *Bombs* to take their positions, and to be in readiness for renewing the bombardment of the city, in case it should be necessary.* My companion,

* I cannot, indeed, express in any terms my admiration of the judgment and activity which I remarked in his Lordship; for, although in my travels I have seen and served several persons in the diplomatic line, as well as officers, I never saw any body so active and attentive

Mr. Burgess, and myself got into the boat with our flag of truce, and rowed towards the city. I was not so much afraid as yesterday, in consequence of the destruction of their batteries; yet, when we got rather near to the mole, they fired three or four shots at us, from a castle at the south end of their fortifications; but fortunately these shots fell a few yards short of our boat.—Upon this, we stopped, and began to think, very seriously. However, after some time, we saw a boat coming out of the mole, about eleven o'clock; nevertheless, we were in great

to every point;—moreover, my astonishment was increased, to see his Lordship, who is about sixty-five years old, and of a stout body, during the battle, with a round hat on his head, a telescope in his hand, and a white handkerchief round his body; running from one place to another, directing all the people, as actively as any young man on board.

doubt whether they were coming to meet us civilly, or whether they would seize us, as is their usual practice. When the boat had reached ours, I found she had on board, a person of the name of *Omar Cáptán*, who was commander of one of the frigates that was burnt the day before; he asked, how the great Admiral was? In reply, I inquired how his Dey was? and gave him the letter, and told him that it was for the Dey, and that we should wait three hours, as yesterday, for an answer,—and in case he did not come by that time, we were instructed to return on board; and that the Dey never would have peace with England on any other terms.

In answer he said, how! yesterday our letters were ready, with the Dey's answer, but you would not wait to receive them; and your fleet took up its position so suddenly, that we had not time to look

about us; and immediately you began firing.—You must excuse me, said I, what you say is not true, because yesterday we waited more than three hours for an answer, notwithstanding two were stated by your Captain of the Port to be sufficient; and it was not our fleet that began the fire, but your batteries;—and, as a proof of your implacability, you see now, those shots which have been fired upon us from that castle, when we are, under a flag of truce, without arms, exposing ourselves for your peace and tranquillity.—Then, finding that he was convicted, he said, Every thing happens by God's decree, and now, let us forget the past, and be greater friends than ever.

This must depend, I answered, on the answer which your Dey gives to Lord Exmouth's letter, and if the Dey wishes to send any body to treat with our Admiral

we shall receive him with pleasure. He replied, I hope it will be so; and added, you must not mind those shots, for they were fired without the Dey's order, and he has already sent orders to all the fortifications not to fire one gun. I told him, I am sure of that,—that those shots were fired without any order,—because I know your people's character, and am certain that when they saw our boat they began to say, there are the infidels coming,—come, let us kill some of them to revenge our dead people; and they thought, by killing two or three persons, without considering the consequences, they should have a general revenge. He then laughed, and said, how do you know that? I said, because I was in your country for some time. In reply he said, once you knew our manners, you must not, therefore, consider this as a fault, since we are now friends.

I replied, on the contrary, just because we are on the point of a reconciliation, I must consider it as an extraordinary fault. He then said, you Europeans are very litigious people, and we are not able to debate with you; and he went away, saying, I hope to be back again directly, with a good answer from the Dey, and then, he added, you may come near to the city, because you are too far off with your boat; now you must be afraid of nothing.

We rowed with his boat towards the mole, to behold more distinctly the effect of our action.

From his conversation and his manner, I understood, that they were very glad to make an end of the business. He went in, and we stopped outside of the mole, waiting for the Dey's answer.

During this time, I was indeed quite surprised to see the horrible state of the

batteries and the mole, since the preceding day. I could not now distinguish how it was erected, nor where the batteries had stood; as well as many fine houses which I had seen in the city the day previous. And I observed too, that they had not more than four or five guns mounted on their carriages, and that of all the rest, some were dismounted, and some buried in the rubbish. Besides this, all the bay was full of the hulks of their navy, smoking in every direction, and the water out and inside of the mole was all black, covered with charcoal and half-burnt pieces of wood. But the most shocking and dreadful sight was, the number of the dead bodies which were floating on the water.—Among these bodies, we saw a white one, which afterwards, on finding it was one of our seamen, we took with us on board.—

We waited there for about one hour and a half; and, at half past one, we saw three guns fired from shore, and at the same time a boat coming out of the mole: Then I understood that the Dey was prepared, for his own and for the Algerines' happiness, to accept our demands; and I began to thank Almighty God for this glorious success.

When the boat came near to our's, I saw the Captain of the Port, with the Swedish Consul on board. The former paid his compliments, and asked to go on board with us to meet his Lordship with the Swedish Consul, who was sent by the Dey to speak with him; mean time, the Consul said, I am authorized by the Dey to have a conversation with the Admiral. I answered, very well, we are going on board, if you wish to come into our boat we will take you with us, or, if you

prefer to follow us with yours, you may do as you like.

The Captain of the Port said, we will follow you with our boat. I asked the Swedish Consul about our Consul, and the people belonging to the Prometheus? he told me, they were all safe.

Then the Captain of the Port asked me, how came it that you went away so soon yesterday without waiting for an answer? I said, I beg your pardon, you cannot say that we went away soon; you must recollect, that we had fixed with you two hours' time for the Dey's answer, and we waited here for three hours and a quarter.

He said, but our letters were not quite ready by that time, because they are serious affairs, and we are not so active as the Europeans, to think, and decide directly; and besides, the Dey wished to answer in Turkish, others wished in Arabic,

and thus the time was past in disputing; and, at the same time, we saw the fleet was already inside of the mole, and your three-deckers under our batteries, which made the people murmur greatly, saying, that the English took possession of the country without fighting, &c.; so that the Dey, as well as ourselves, was in a great confusion, between you and the people.

In reply, I said, if the case were as you state, you ought to have come out by the Dey's order to apprize us, and to ask more time, for your answer, when perhaps his Lordship would have agreed to give you one or two hours more.

I came out, said he, with my boat, but you were gone, and the fire began all at once.

Who began the fire at first, said I, our fleet, or your batteries?—It is true, he said,

we began firing, because your immense three-deckers had no business to come so close under our batteries; and if Lord Exmouth had to make any demands, he might lie at anchor as far off as he is now, and ask what he wished; and not come with the three-deckers all at once inside of the mole, and put the Dey in such circumstances, that he was obliged by the people to fire.

On the contrary, I said, our proper place was where the Admiral took his position with the fleet, for you must recollect, that in our letters to the Dey, we said that we came, by our Sovereign's order, to enforce our demands, without the acceptance of which he could not have peace with England; therefore, it was your business to think about your happiness, and to spare the lives of so many of your people, and not to answer by firing.

Then he said, ah! I know it was a wrong thing on our part; but now it is useless to say any thing more, because every thing was destined by God, who willed it to happen so; let us forget the past, and I hope that we shall be better friends than before with England; for they say, that friendship after a war, is always more solid than before.

I said, I hope it will be so; and I told him, we are going on, you will join us. We rowed fast till we got on board the Queen Charlotte, I made my reports to his Lordship of what had happened, and that the Captain of the Port, with the Swedish Consul, was coming after us. His Lordship then ordered me to receive them when they should come on board, and to introduce them to his Lordship's cabin.

After I had done this, and they had paid their respects to his Lordship, they said,

that they were sent by the Dey to ask whether Lord Exmouth wished to make any modification in his demands.

His Lordship, with dignified firmness, repeated his demands, and said, he was determined to make no change whatever; and that the purport of the terms was to be executed immediately; and that our Consul, as well as the people of the Prometheus, were to be sent on board without loss of time.

Then the Captain of the Port said, very well, all the Admiral's demands are granted; but it is impossible to execute them all immediately, because the slaves are out of town.* The money is separated in various places, and being a large sum, requires more than one day to collect it. With

* They had sent the slaves out of town to prevent them from making a riot while the Algerines were occupied in the battle.

regard to the Consul, he is quite safe and free in his house; and the people of the Prometheus are safe, but are sent out of town with the other slaves; and moreover, the two boats are safe too, for when you had set fire last night to our fleet, the people ran to set fire to them, but I would not let them do it; and to prevent it, I exposed two of my gun-boats, which afterwards were burnt by you; and then all the people began to swear and accuse me as a friend to the English; (although I had already offered them my advice, and if they had taken it, they never would have been placed in such circumstances,) but they deserve worse than this, because their heads are *Algerine heads.* (The Captain of the Port is *an Albanian.*)

In reply, his Lordship asked him, "When do you think the slaves and the money will be ready to embark?" He answered, there

are about forty or fifty slaves in town, and all the rest, as I said, have been sent into the interior; nevertheless, the Dey has already sent orders to bring them back, and very likely in two or three days they may be in town, or perhaps sooner, and when they are ready you shall have them, as well as the money at the same time; but I do not wish to engage my word now; for this evening I shall make my report to the Dey, and to-morrow you must send somebody on shore to settle with him all these points, and fix a certain day. His Lordship said, very well, but you must send the Consul on board immediately, and to-morrow I shall send an officer with him to talk with the Dey. The Captain of the Port replied, the Consul is free to come at any time he likes, but I pray the Admiral, that if the Consul has received any insults from some of the impertinent people

without the Dey's order, not to take any notice of it, for our people are always insolent, and do many things without the Dey's knowledge. Then his Lordship, with dignity, said, this is the principal point I wish to inquire about; and if our Consul has received any insult, I must require ample satisfaction; and if the Dey wants peace with England, and wishes to make a treaty with me, he must send the Consul on board directly. The Captain of the Port, with confusion, said, very well, very well; but being too late, if we are not able to send him to-night, will it not do if we send him to-morrow morning? The Admiral replied, Very well, I expect you with the Consul to-morrow morning, and if it is not convenient for him to come in your boat, I shall send one of ours to bring him on board. Then the Captain of the Port said to me, with a *sigh and a low voice*, I had

predicted all this rigour, because I knew the English nation never forgive the least small point; and I told them so, (the Algerines,) but what can I do myself among thousands of rustic people? Afterwards he asked, if the Admiral had any more demands to make from the Dey? His Lordship said, these are the principal points, and if we, or the Dey, shall have some other trifling things, we shall settle them amicably. And so the Captain of the Port went away, with the Swedish Consul, at five o'clock P. M. very much agitated. On this day the Wasp, Captain Woolrige, arrived from Malta; she was about sixty miles from the bay of Algiers when they heard the report of our guns during the action.

Thursday the 29th.—At ten o'clock, A. M. the Captain of the Port came on board and brought with him Mr. M'Donell, our

Consul, whom after having been received by the Admiral with the usual salute, his Lordship sent on board one of the transports, to see his family there, and to come back again directly.

During this time Lord Exmouth gave an order to call Admiral Van *Cappellan* and Admiral Milne, to whom, on their arrival on board, I introduced the Captain of the Port, who, after he had been introduced to Admiral Van Cappellan, said to me, the Dutch must always acknowledge a great obligation to the English, because if it was not for this opportunity, they could never have obtained so fair a peace as this. In reply I said, we are all brothers, and every body in this world must assist his neighbour if he can. Then he said, yes, I know this virtue always prevails amongst you, Christians, but among us Mohammedans

we never have the feeling to do good actions to another, and therefore we never can prosper.

I laughed at this; and the Consul by this time was returned from seeing his family.

His Lordship asked him in presence of the Captain of the Port, how he had been treated?

He replied, that they had put him in chains, and that he was insulted several times, and was often menaced with death; and, in short, that they had treated him very harshly. Besides, he had also lost some of his property; and that the Captain of the Port well knew how ill-treated he had been.

This made Lord Exmouth very angry, and he said to the Captain of the Port, that this was not a proper way to treat the British Consul.

The Captain of the Port began to make excuses, and said, that it was done without the Dey's or his own knowledge. Then his Lordship said, the Dey must punish those people who insulted our Consul, in the same manner as the Consul was insulted; and he (the Dey) must indemnify the Consul for his losses. The Captain of the Port replied, very well, now that you are going to send your men on shore with me, you had better put all your additional demands on paper, and we shall, accordingly, settle every thing with the Dey.

His Lordship now began to write all the topics in a list. The Captain of the Port during this time, in the course of conversation, asked me, if this ship (the Queen Charlotte) was the *Boyne*, in which Lord Exmouth had been before at Algiers. I told him this ship was quite a new one, and never had been in any action before;

and that she is called by the same name of her Majesty, *our Queen.*

He replied, "Then your Queen must be of a very high *star;** since this ship called by her name, the first time she has been in battle, has gained this victory."

On this day there was rather a strong wind and high sea; and Captain Brisbane, conversing with the Captain of the Port, remarked, that it was bad weather; in reply he said, "How! now you say that it is bad weather; and the day before yesterday when you brought your three-deckers inside of the mole all at once, why

* *Star* signifies fortune, because the Mahommedans say, that every body must have a star in the heavens; and whoever vanquishes his enemy, they say that his star was higher than the other.—For example, of *Buonaparte* they say, that he made all that progress in Europe, because his star was higher than those of the other European powers; and now, they say, that his star is fallen. Alas! the star of her Majesty is now set, but it cannot be said to have fallen.

did you not then observe whether it was bad or good weather?" We laughed, and said, "at that time we were forced to go in with any weather."

The Captain of the Port then asked me "where the Admiral was during the battle; and if the ship we had lost was a brig or a frigate?" (he thought that the explosion vessel was a *man of war* set on fire by their guns). When I told him that our Admiral never stopped in one place, but was attending all the management of the action, as he ought to do; and that as to the explosion vessel, we did it on purpose; he appeared as if he was surprised how his Lordship was safe, while he had exposed himself so much; and how we lost not one ship: and then he said, "it depends on courage and activity."

After a few minutes, Lord Exmouth having got the list of demands written, asked Mr.

M'Donell (the Consul) of what value might be the things he lost; he said, I cannot exactly say to what sum they amount, because I do not know what my wife has lost of her jewels, and what I have lost of my property; but I will ascertain what the loss is, and then I will make my account in an exact list. His Lordship said, then it is better that we should ask a certain sum of the Dey to be kept by you till you can make your account; and if the loss exceeds the sum, the Dey should be obliged to repay you; and if it be less, you will return to him the surplus.

Mr. M'Donell replied to his Lordship, very well, this is the best plan, because now I cannot make my account immediately; and thus it was deemed proper to ask 3000 dollars from the Dey under the said conditions.

Then his Lordship read the list of all his demands, in the presence of Admirals Van Cappellan and Sir David Milne, and gave it to Captain Brisbane, ordering me to go on shore with him and the Captain of the Port, accompanied by the Consul and Major (now Colonel) Gosset.

At three o'clock P. M. we arrived inside of the mole, where I observed the most horrible sight, worse than what I saw outside. The dock-yard, the arsenal, and the store-houses were almost destroyed; and there was not a space of one foot on the walls where no shot had passed.

I saw, inside of the dock, only one schooner quite safe, and one brig with her masts all in pieces; and also four gun-boats were safe, but in a very miserable state. After we landed, we walked on the passage from the mole to the city, and I

observed the aqueduct was destroyed, and all the people of the mole were deprived of water.

When we entered the city, I saw every thing contrary to its fine appearance outside. The streets are very narrow, dirty, and dark; and were then full of rubbish. The buildings are all of stone, as well as the tops and the floors of the houses, with very little of wood; and every four or five houses are bound together by arches, and they have but a few very small windows; therefore, this city never can be burnt by rockets; but, for its destruction, shells, such as we used, are the surest means.

We went with the Consul to his house; and the Captain of the Port went to apprize the Dey of our landing. When we entered the Consul's house it was full of rubbish, and we counted thirty shots, of various sizes, collected there by the servants. We

walked through the house, and observed in one small room, of ten feet square,* nine shots that had passed through. We went on the top of the house to observe the whole destruction of the town [though it is ordered that no Christian shall appear on the top of his house.†] We observed, with a spying glass, in every part of the town, there was not a house which had not been damaged by our shots, and many houses were horribly destroyed; and we had a specimen from our Consul's house and its environs. At three-quarters past three, the

* In this room Mr. M'Donell, our Consul, wished to remain when the Dey arrested him; but being too good a room, for their malicious disposition, they refused to let him stay there; and confined him in a dark room below, which, fortunately, was the cause of his safety.

† In all the coast of Barbary it is prohibited for a Christian to appear on the top of his house; and if any body appears there, he would be immediately shot; because they believe that the Christians came on the top of the houses to see their women.

INTERVIEW WITH THE DEY.

1. OMAR PASHAW, DEY of ALGIERS, *seated where the Negotiations were carried on.*
2. CAPTAIN SIR JAMES BRISBANE, *LORD EXMOUTH'S representative during the first three days of the Negotiations.*
3. REAR ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES PENROSE, *LORD EXMOUTH'S representative during the last three days.*
4. Mr ABRAHAM SALAME', *Interpreter on the part of the British Government.*
5 & 6. *The* ALGERINE ADMIRAL *and* CAPTAIN *of the* PORT.

Thro' the Arches the British and Dutch Fleets are to be seen with Lord Viscount Exmouth on the Poop of the Queen Charlotte.

Captain of the Port returned from the Dey's palace and took us with him; when we came to the door of the court, the Consul took off his hat, and told us to do the same, because it was the custom. The palace is very small in comparison of those of Constantinople, or other parts of the Turkish government, and nothing in it magnificent or worthy to be seen. But I only saw, in the middle of the court, several heaps of rubbish, and two heaps of our shots and carcasses, with some pieces of shells collected together, before the entrance of the outer gate.

At four o'clock we arrived in presence of the Dey, who was in a narrow gallery, open to the sea, on the third floor, where he was seated with crossed naked legs, on a high Turkish sofa, and a long pipe in his hand, as is the Turkish custom; but he

was very cross, and never asked us to sit down.*

After we had paid him the customary compliments, the Captain of the Port presented me, saying, "This is a gentleman from Constantinople;" in reply he asked, how the great Admiral was? I answered, he desires his best compliments to your Highness.

We then proceeded to business: Captain Brisbane began to read, and I explained, Lord Exmouth's demands to the Dey;

* Previously to my seeing the Dey I expected to meet a Pashaw like those whom we see at Constantinople and in all Turkey; but when I met him and observed his manners and his speaking, I immediately understood what an ordinary kind of man he was, (in another part of the narrative I shall describe his origin); here I only wish to say, that if such a business as this had happened in some place as Constantinople, or in any other part of the Turkish dominions, we should have been received with great civility and politeness, though it might not have been with sincerity.

when the following conversation passed between us.

Captain Brisbane.—Lord Exmouth, considering that your Highness has accepted his principal terms for the conclusion of the peace with England, has sent us to explain and settle the following points with you: —First, Lord Exmouth expects that the Dey, to show the sincerity of his intention, will send on board, to-morrow morning, all the slaves that are in the town, as well as the sum of 382,500 dollars, which had been paid by their Majesties the King of Sicily, and the King of Sardinia; and, in case he cannot send all the said sum to-morrow, he must send the greater part of it.

The Dey.—As to the money, it is now ready, not having been touched since it was given to me, some days ago; and it is better to send it on board all at once. As

to the slaves in the town, they are ready to go to-morrow, or at any time you like; and, if the other slaves be arrived from the interior to-morrow, you may take them too; but to-morrow [Friday] being our sabbath, we have no time to do all this: yet, if you will send your boats to-morrow at two o'clock, after our church, the slaves in the town will be ready to embark; and with regard to the money, if you send for it on Saturday at noon, we will give it to you.

Captain Brisbane.—As it is your sabbath to-morrow, I agree to your Highness keeping the money till Saturday; and to-morrow, at the time specified, we shall send our boats to fetch the slaves in the town.

Secondly.—Lord Exmouth desires to know, when all the slaves will have returned from the interior, as well as those

who are in Oran, Costantina, and Bona?

The Dey.— Since the day before yesterday, I have already sent orders to bring back all the slaves from the interior, and I expect them to be in town to-morrow; but I engage my word with you, that you shall have them on Saturday at four, P.M.—I have also sent to Costantina for the slaves there; and, if you wish, I will likewise send for those at Bona and Oran;— but the distances are so great, that the march from those places to here will fatigue them very much.*

Captain Brisbane.—We shall expect the slaves from the interior, as you said, on

* Now, he (the Dey) felt, that the march would fatigue them.—But when he had them in chains for so many years, and made them work at the hardest works, with very miserable food and barbarous treatment, why did he not feel compassion then?

Saturday; and, when the slaves from Costantina come here, you will give them up to our Consul, if we should have left the bay. With respect to the slaves that are at Bona and Oran, you must give us two orders to the Beys there, and we will send two ships to fetch them.

The Dey.—When you please, I will give you two orders for Bona and Oran; and when the slaves from Costantina arrive here, I will give them up to your Consul: but some of the slaves owe money to the inhabitants of Algiers—how shall I do for their debt?

Captain Brisbane.—What money is this, and how did the slaves become debtors to the inhabitants?

The Dey.—All this money has been lent them by Jews and others, who hold legal bills for the sums.

Captain Brisbane.—If your Highness

had treated them as you should, they never would have been obliged to borrow money from your people; and besides, it is well known, that no man gives money to such destitute people, but as alms; and when they are to be restored to their respective countries, it is quite a shame for any government to ask for such things.

The Dey.—But they owe this money by legal bills, which I will show you, and if you take these slaves away without paying their debts, the people will require the money from me.

Captain Brisbane.—This is not our business, nor do we wish to know any thing of it.

Upon this answer, the Dey looked at the Captain of the Port, and said, with anger, "You see now, how the business goes." The Captain of the Port in reply said, "My Lord, let this pass, and let them

demand the money from the slaves in their own countries."

The Dey then said to us, very well, you may have them as you like.

Captain Brisbane.—Thirdly, Lord Exmouth desires, that your Highness will restore the letter, which was given by our interpreter, on Tuesday last, to your Captain of the Port, for our Consul.

The Dey.—The said letter is, with all my papers, in the castle; but, as the balls have filled the room with rubbish, it is impossible to get it out now;—when I can get at my papers, I will send the letter to the Consul.

Captain Brisbane.—Fourthly, Lord Exmouth desires, that your Highness will punish all those people who insulted our Consul, for he (Lord Exmouth) persuades himself that it was done without your orders. And he also desires, that repara-

tion may be made to the Consul, for the losses he has sustained, to the amount of 3,000 dollars: Should this sum be too much, he (the Consul) will return the overplus, [at present the damages done are uncertain, the Consul not having had time to examine his property;] and should it be insufficient, your Highness shall make up the deficiency.

The Dey.—The persons who insulted the Consul are impertinent and low people unknown to me, and did it without my order. And, with respect to the things that the Consul says he has lost, I have already inquired, and been told, that he had lost nothing.

The Consul.—I can show the Dey all the people who insulted and robbed me, for I know them individually.

The Dey.—Suppose I take them and

cut their heads off, will it do the Consul any good?

Captain Brisbane.—We do not wish to have any body's head cut off; we wish, that you should punish them by bastinados, and put them in irons, as our Consul was: The Consul will show you what things have been stolen and damaged by your people, because, we do not desire to make you pay without a cause. And in case you do not wish to punish those people who insulted the Consul,—as you say they are unknown to you, your Highness may, instead, make a public apology to Mr. M'Donell, for, the indignities offered to him, and the detention of our two boats, are insults shewn to the English Nation; therefore, we cannot pass over this point.

The Dey—(in confusion)—I know it was wrong on our part; but, if you were in my

place, what would you do?—and besides, I never expected the English Government would reduce me to this state.

Salamé.—I think it was not our fault.

The Dey.—How? on the day before yesterday, after you brought me the Admiral's letters, and while my answer was almost ready, the fleet came all at once, and took its position inside the mole: if Lord Exmouth had to make any demands of me, he ought to have anchored where he is now; and not to come with the three-deckers, within pistol shot, under our batteries.

Salamé.—Lord Exmouth only did his duty: The proper situation for the fleet was where his Lordship placed it, that he might enforce the demands made in his Sovereign's name. And if your Highness had your letters ready, as you say, but not

by the specified time, you might have sent a message to ask one or two hours more, which, his Lordship perhaps would have granted to you; but instead, you answered by firing.

The Dey.—I was obliged by the people to fire, because, when they saw your fleet taking its position, they began to rebel against me: yet, I know it was our fault, and now, all is done by God's decree, let us forget the past, and I hope to be better friends than ever with England.*

Salamé.—What does your Highness mean to do about the 3,000 dollars, and the apology to the Consul?

* The Dey, by representing to us all these pretended excuses, thought that we would accept them as true; in this he found himself in a great mistake.

The Dey—(with anger)—I shall give him the 3,000 dollars, and do not wish to receive any part of the sum back; and I shall make an apology.

Captain Brisbane.—Are you sorry for the violent measures you adopted, in the heat of the moment, towards the British Consul, and do you beg pardon for the same?

The Dey—(very cross)—Yes, I do.

Salamé.—But, it is necessary that your Highness should address these words to the Consul; or, as you do not know the language, if you please to authorize me, or any of your people, to repeat them to him.

The Dey—(more cross)—Very well, you may say what you please to the Consul.

Salamé—(with pretended mildness)—I beg your pardon, without your Highness' dictation, I can say nothing on my part.

No reply from the Dey for a few

minutes; but he had his hand playing with his beard, and was so agitated and astonished, that he looked as if he would rather have *died* than submit to such disgrace—He really showed his natural wickedness, and was looking at me with such angry eyes, that if it had been in his power, he certainly would have cut me in pieces. The Captain of the Port, observing his manner, and having seen Lord Exmouth's resolution, came behind him, and with a low voice, not to let me hear, said, " My Lord, it cannot be helped, you must submit: that *yellow haired man must now triumph.*"*

* This means Mr. M'Donell, because he had red hair; and the Captain of the Port wished to say, that, as the Consul has been so badly treated, now this is the time of his triumph. But, he (the Captain of the Port) said these words to the Dey, in an ambiguity, and with a low voice, not to let me understand him. Yet though I was talking with Captain Brisbane, my ears were listening to him.

Upon this, the Dey turned to me and said, What do you wish to say to the Consul? Only the same words; I said. He then with much vexation, after I had explained them to him again, dictated to me word by word; and so I repeated his dictation, in English and in French* to Mr. M'Donell, who afterwards addressed the Dey, and said, "I accept, with pleasure, your apology, as a sign of sincerity; I shall forget every thing that has passed, and I hope to be happy in your friendship."

Captain Brisbane.—Fifthly, Lord Exmouth desires your Highness to announce the conclusion of peace by a salute of twenty-one guns for England, and twenty-one for the Netherlands: and you shall

* I explained the Dey's apology to Mr. M'Donell, in English, and in French too, because I suspected there were some other persons listening to us; and therefore, I wished to let them hear it and understand it quite clear on purpose.

be answered with the same number by both squadrons.

The Dey—I am ready to do this when you like.

Then we settled with him, that he was to fire for us, at six o'clock this evening; and for the Dutch, at seven the next morning.

The captain of the port, on this last point, approached the Dey, and said to him, aside, "that the Dutch had been very fortunate to profit by this opportunity."

Captain Brisbane.—Sixthly, Lord Exmouth desires to know at what time your Highness will sign the treaties?

The Dey—At any time you like, I am ready to sign them.

Upon this, we fixed with him, for the succeeding Monday, at eleven A. M.—After we had settled all these important

points with the Dey, he asked if Lord Exmouth had any more demands upon him?

We said, "These are the principal points; and, if his Lordship, or your Highness should have some other trifling things, they will be settled in a friendly manner.—But to-morrow morning we must send our sloops, to take up our anchors, round the mole; and at the same time to have some fresh water."

In reply, he said, "Very well, at any time you may take away your anchors; but fresh water, we are at present deprived of, in consequence of your having destroyed our aqueduct, which you may see yourselves when you are going down to the mole."

We then said, for water, never mind; the water we have will do: and we left him at half past five o'clock. The Dey,

in the conversation of this day, appeared quite thunderstruck; his tongue was bound in his mouth, and his lips were sticking one to the other, so that he could not explain what he wished to say. We went on board and reported every thing to his Lordship, who was quite delighted with our success. At about a quarter past six the Dey fired the twenty-one guns for announcing his peace with great Britain; and his Lordship gave the orders to answer him with the same number.

On this day, Admiral Sir Charles Penrose arrived from Malta, and was very sorry that he had not come at the time of the battle.

Friday the 30th.—At two o'clock I went on shore to receive the slaves in the town; on my way, I met the Consul's man with a letter for his Lordship, announcing, that all the slaves were arrived from the interior,

amounting to upwards of one thousand. Orders were then given to the fleet to send a sufficient number of boats to bring them off, and likewise two transports were ordered to go near the town to receive them. When I arrived on shore, it was the most pitiful sight, to see all those poor creatures, in what a horrible state they were; but, it is impossible to describe the joy and cheerfulness of them. When our boats came inside of the mole, I wished to receive them, (the slaves) from the captain of the port, by number, but could not, because they directly began to push and throw themselves into the boats by crowds, ten or twenty persons together, so that it was impossible to count them; then I told him, that we should make an exact list of them, in order to know to what number they amounted. It was, indeed, a most glorious, and an ever memorably

merciful act, for England, over all Europe, to see these poor slaves, when our boats were shoving, with them, off the shore, all at once take off their hats, and exclaim, in Italian, "*Viva il Ré d'Ingliterra, il padre eterno! e 'l Ammiraglio Inglese che ci ha liberato da questo secondo inferno!*"—"*Long live the king of England, the eternal father! and the English Admiral who delivered us from this second hell!*"* and afterwards, they began to prove what they had suffered, by beating their breasts, and loudly swearing at the Algerines.

I spoke with some of these unfortunate people who had been for thirty-five years in slavery.

The cruel treatment of these poor slaves, being, in an excessive degree, barbarous,

* Even I, who had hardly done any thing in the battle, when I heard the exclamation of these poor people, was quite delighted, and forgot every danger and labour, that we had passed, in the happiness of seeing them released.

my feelings do not permit me to describe it in detail; but I only wish to present a little idea of it by mentioning the following points.—When the Algerines, or any of the Barbary pirates, take an European vessel, they seize their goods and every other thing, (but, sometimes they do not touch the money that the prisoners possess in their pockets,) and they put them immediately in chains: there are three classes of chains, viz.—Of one hundred, of sixty, and of thirty pounds weight; the one hundred pounders are for strong men; the sixty for old men; and the thirty pounders for young persons: these heavy chains are placed round the body as a sash, with a long piece of chain hung on the right leg, and joined by a heavy ring to be placed on the foot.—All these chains are shut by a lock, and never can be taken off. Thus, these poor slaves must walk

any distance whatever, and work, and sleep, and live always with these chains; the marks of which, I have seen round their bodies, and their legs, in very deep furrows eaten into the flesh, which becomes black, and as hard as bone; the sight of which is really a most heart-breaking thing. After these poor creatures are put in chains, they make them work at the hardest works: as cutting stone from the mountains; felling trees; carrying sand and stones for building; moving guns from one place to another, and such kinds of laborious works. (N. B.) They have no machines to facilitate the workmen, all must be done by the strength of these poor people. Every ten slaves are bound together, and guided by a guard with a whip in his hand; and if any one of them has occasion to perform any natural evacuation, they must go all together,

whether by night, or day. They sleep all together, on the ground, in a large stable, with a *mat* under them; if any of them have money, then they can make themselves rather more comfortable.

The government allows to each person, for every day of the week (except Friday) a loaf of eight or ten ounces of a very black kind of bread, made of *barley* and *beans;* one handful of peas, and a small measure, not larger than a thimble, of oil; that is the whole of their food: and on Friday, nothing at all. An Agà of the Janissaries at Algiers, observing the miserable state of these unfortunate people, and the inhumanity with which they were treated, was induced by his feelings to allow them a portion of meat and wheat bread, for every Friday, on which day, they would else have had nothing. This allowance continued for several years;

but, for their misfortune, this good man died of about a middle age; and nobody, after him, was so humane as to follow his benevolent example.

And thus these unfortunate creatures were deprived again of assistance, and continued to pass their life as before, till the divine Providence released them through the medium of the exalted and merciful government of Great Britain.

The troops seeing several ships coming near the town to receive the slaves, and to take away our anchors from the environs of the mole, thought that we were going to renew the attack, or to do some improper thing; and they rushed into the mole with their arms. Some of them, when our boats shoved off with the slaves, were so brutal as to fire several musket shots, which, fortunately, passed by the boats sails. On my arrival on board, I reported this con-

duct to his Lordship, who ordered me to claim redress for it, from the Dey, on the next day.

After all the slaves were embarked on board the two transports and anchored near the Queen Charlotte, they all came on the decks, shrouds, and on the yards, exclaiming and shouting again in the same words as before; and giving cheers and plaudits to every ship; so that it really was a most joyful noise on both sides. Lord Exmouth then gave orders to count them: we took lists of the people of each nation, and they amounted to 1083 in the whole.

Then his Lordship ordered them to be embarked on board of several ships to convey them to their respective countries, which was done according to the following table.

A return of Slaves, released by Admiral Lord Exmouth at Algiers, by virtue of the Treaty of the 28th of August, 1816.

Of what Nation.	No.	
Neapolitans	471	Proceeded to Naples in the transports Trafalgar, Maria, and Friends.
Sicilians . .	236	
Romans . .	173	Proceeded to Naples in his Majesty's ship the Severn.
Tuscans . .	6	
Spaniards . .	161	Proceeded to the coast of Spain in the Spanish Brig Alexander, on the night of the 31st August without Lord Exmouth's orders.
Portugueze.	1	
Greeks . . .	7	Proceeded to Malta in his Majesty's Sloop the Wasp, on her way to Constantinople.
Dutch . . .	28	Delivered to Admiral Van-Cappellan, by Lord Exmouth's orders.
Total . . .	1083	

The Wasp was ordered to call and receive such slaves as might be at Bona; and the Mutine proceeded to Oran for the same purpose.

N. B. Five Spaniards were brought afterwards, by the Mutine, from Oran to Gibraltar; and fifty slaves had been sent

from Oran to Algiers, previously to the Mutine's arrival, to be conveyed to their respective homes, through the medium of the British Consul.

All the slaves, therefore, amounted to 1138, besides those of Costantina and Bona, who were, as they say, seventy-three in number; making in the whole 1211 slaves. Besides these, there were released by Lord Exmouth on his first visit to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, 1792 slaves, making a grand total of 3003 helpless victims restored, from slavish durance, to liberty.

This was the number of slaves that we knew of; and if in the process of time, we or our Consul come to understand, that any other slave is detained in any part of the kingdom of Algiers, the Dey is obliged to fetch him and give him up to the British Consul.

Saturday the 31st.—In the morning a Neapolitan slave came on board the Queen Charlotte, and told me, that his son, a little boy eight years old, was detained by a lady, in the city of Algiers, and that she had made him a Mohamedan. I directly reported this to his Lordship, who had also received intelligence, that the Dey had detained still in chains, two Spaniards; one of whom was the Vice-Consul at *Oran*, named *Don Heguira*, and the other, a merchant named *Don Sebastiani Padrone;* both had been unjustly arrested, put in chains, and doomed to hard work, from the time of the revolution at Oran, in the year 1813, against the former Dey of Algiers.*

* In the year 1813, the Bey of Oran rebelled against the former Dey of Algiers, (Hagi Ali Pashaw, of which I shall give a full account in another part of the narrative,) and after having been killed by the order of the said Dey, two of his sons escaped with some money and jewels of their own, and went to Malaga; upon which the Dey

His Lordship then directed Captain Brisbane to go with me on shore, to claim the little boy, and the said two Spaniards, from the Dey.

At noon I went on shore with Captain Brisbane for the reception of the money; and as it was the first business of the day which we had to do with the Dey previously to any contest respecting the Neapolitan boy, and the two Spaniards, Captain Brisbane remained at the Consul's house, and I went to the Dey's palace, where I found all the sum was put up ready in the court-yard of the palace.

put the said Spanish Vice-Consul in chains, and made him become responsible for the return of the two fugitives; but as he (the Dey) had received no satisfactory answer from the Spanish government, he availed himself of an occasion over the other Spanish merchant, in consequence of a lawsuit on some mercantile business, to put him in chains too; and thus he had detained both, as hostages, (according to his ideas of justice,) and treated them worse than slaves.

. .

I met the treasurer, who asked, In what manner I intended to receive it? He wished to deliver it to me while I was in the palace, and that I would take care of it, till it should be embarked. But I refused, and told him, that I would count 1000 dollars, return it to its bag, and put it into a balance, and by that means I should receive all the sum by weight; that afterwards, he must send the money by his own people down to the mole, where our officers would receive it by counting and putting it into our boats.

He said, with regard to exactness, all the sacks contained 1000 dollars each, that they were quite right, being the same money which he had received a few days before from the Sicilian frigate, through the medium of our Consul, not having been touched since; but with respect to sending the money down to the mole, that

there were no people in town, and that they had no porters to carry it.

I told him, whilst the money was in the palace I could not take charge of it ;* but, if the Dey wished it, I would get four hundred of our people to carry it from the palace to the mole all at one time, and then I would take care of it.

He went and reported what I said to the Dey, who told him, he had better find people enough to carry the money down, than to let four hundred infidels come through the city to the palace. On his return he was very angry with me, and asked how many sacks I should want for

* Knowing their ungovernable character, and observing the confusion in which the town was at this time, from the number of impertinent soldiers, I refused to take charge of the money from the palace; for I knew that they could take it from me, and perhaps would kill me into the bargain, without its being known, which would have occasioned another quarrel.

the whole of it? I said, fifty or one hundred sacks, if he could find people enough. He then ordered several of the guards to go out and to catch all persons they could find in the streets, and bring them into the palace.*

After I had counted one thousand dollars, as I said, I began to receive the rest by weight, till I had received all the sum of 382,500 dollars, in about two hours time. The guards, during this time, returned with more than one hundred persons, Jews and Moors, taken from the streets; I then told the treasurer, that it would be less confusion if we sent one hundred sacks at a time with fifty persons, accompanied by

* In every part of the Turkish government, even at Constantinople, when there is any momentary service for government, as moving guns, carrying arms or money, &c. &c. they always employ any person they meet in the streets without paying any thing.

some of the guards, to be delivered to our officers at the mole, and bring a receipt for the same number.

After he had approved this, I sent a message to Captain Brisbane to be present at the mole, to receive the money; and thus we sent the first one hundred sacks under the charge of the Dey's guard. On their arrival at the mole, they found ninety-eight sacks only, for which number they brought me a receipt. Now the treasurer began to grumble, but it being under the care of his people, he could not charge me with any thing.* Afterwards it was proved by the *Aga* of the Janissaries who was at the palace, that when the porters went out with the money, he had counted forty-nine

* This was another advantage for me, because if I had had the charge of the money, they would have obliged me to pay these 2,000 dollars, when I had nothing gained but the trouble and the dirt of my hands.

men only, each of which carried two sacks. Upon this, the treasurer persuaded himself that it was a mistake occasioned by the confusion we were in at the court of the palace.

In short, after great trouble, thank God, the whole sum of 382,500 dollars was delivered in safety to Captain Brisbane, and put into the boats. After I had got rid of this money, I asked for the 3,000 dollars for the Consul. The treasurer said, that he must go and ask the Dey, who replied, "Never mind it, give it; we are obliged by their superiority to pay this mulct, it must be done." Then he came and gave me the 3000 dollars, but with great anger; and it appeared that they were more sorry for these 3000 than for that large sum, because they considered them as an unjust fine. After I had taken the said 3000 dollars to the Consul's house, where I met

Captain Brisbane, we sent a message to the Dey that we were desirous to see him for some important business; and thus I went to the Dey's palace again, with Captain Brisbane and the Consul.

When we paid the Dey our compliments, Captain Brisbane began to say—Lord Exmouth, considering that your Highness has accepted the demand which stipulates that you shall restore every Christian in chains in your kingdom, who has not committed any crimes contrary to law, desires you to send on board the little boy (son to a Neapolitan slave) who has been detained in a house, and prevailed upon to turn Mohammedan; and as he is very young, he is not able to judge which religion is best.

The Dey.—I do not know that this boy has been detained, nor made Mohamedan; however, I shall send for him, and

you shall have him. He then asked the Captain of the Port where and by whom the boy was detained? and immediately sent an order to bring him to the palace.

Captain Brisbane.—Lord Exmouth likewise desires to have the two Spaniards that you have now in chains; one is the Vice-Consul of Oran, named Don Heguiera; and the other is a merchant, named Don Sebastiani Padrone.

The Dey.—These two Spaniards are not slaves, neither have I detained them as such; they are merchants, and debtors to us, to the amount of 380,000 dollars; if Lord Exmouth had written to me in his first letters about them, and I had detained them, he would now have had some reason to ask them from me; but he did not mention any thing respecting these two persons, and I will produce his letters and read them in your presence, to

see what his demands were. Moreover, the day before yesterday I asked you, if Lord Exmouth had any more demands? and you said, he had not, and now you come with this new pretension; if you come every day with new demands, how am I to believe the word of the English nation as true? if you wish to ruin me entirely, it is then better for me to abandon every thing and to retire and defend myself in the mountains. These two Spaniards owe this sum not to me but to the Algerine government, therefore I cannot give them up voluntarily; yet if Lord Exmouth insists on having them by force, he must send me a letter to that effect, and then I shall be obliged to give them up; but if he wishes to have them in an amicable manner, let him pay the 380,000 dollars, or let him, or any Englishman of you, be responsible for the payment of the said sum,

and you shall have them directly; or if Lord Exmouth does not like this, I will take off their chains and put them in a room under care of a guard till they have paid the money.

Captain Brisbane.—We know very well, what Lord Exmouth's letters contained; and we know these two persons have been more than two years in chains, and have been made to work and been treated worse than slaves; and that the money you say they owe, is not their proper debt, but other persons owe this money to your government.

The Dey.—It is true that the debt is owed by some other people; but these two men made themselves responsible for them in case they should run away to Spain; and they are now in the Spanish kingdom with the money and goods of the Algerine government.

Captain Brisbane.—As they are in Spain why do you not get them from the Spanish government, instead of putting these two men in chains as slaves?

The Dey.—I have written several times to the Spanish court, but have never received an answer.

Captain Brisbane.—It is impossible for Lord Exmouth to leave these two persons so cruelly treated and chained; moreover, one of them being a Vice-Consul, he cannot be considered as a trader; and a public officer must not be kept here in the state we now find him.—The other, as a merchant, you must at all events free from chains, and he shall be kept in the Spanish Consul's house, (although you unjustly forced these two men to become responsible for such a sum of money,) until this business is settled by the commercial law. Lord Exmouth will not make himself re-

sponsible, but he will promise you by a letter, that, as an act of friendship, he will do all he can to induce the Spanish government to pay you the money, if the claim is a just one.

The Dey.—As Lord Exmouth does not like to be responsible, I do not wish to keep either of them; because the Vice-Consul, whom Lord Exmouth insists on having, is indebted more than 300,000 dollars; and the other merchant, whom he consents shall remain here in the custody of the Spanish Consul, owes only 80,000 dollars, it is therefore better to risk losing all the sum together, than looking for a trifling thing under uncertainty; and let Lord Exmouth send me to-morrow by letter that he obliges me by force to give up these two persons, and thus you shall have them both.

Captain Brisbane.—We are going this evening to report all this to his Lordship,

and to-morrow you shall have the letter you desire. Lord Exmouth heard that yesterday some of your soldiers fired a few musket shots at our boats; he therefore says, that if any of our men are killed, he will immediately resent it by the fleet upon the town; now he apprizes you, that you may keep your people in order.

The Dey.—I did not know any thing of the kind had happened; but as they are new troops who came yesterday from the country, they are not disciplined; and when they saw your ships coming near the town to fetch the slaves and the anchors, they thought that it was for another purpose, and thus ran down to the mole, with their arms, without my order. But when I heard of this, I went myself to the mole and made them go back again; some of them, perhaps, wished to discharge their muskets,

and may have fired in the air, and not purposely at your boats; however, I shall now give new orders to keep every body quiet; and I wish that you would do the same, and not allow your seamen to go about the town without an officer with them; if they wish to buy any thing let them do it quickly, (only for this present moment,) because at this time the city is full of soldiers, and some of them, very likely, quarrelsome; it is, therefore, not impossible that something disagreeable may happen.

Captain Brisbane.—Our seamen are in very good order; I shall not let them go about the town without an officer, and I will take care that their conduct shall not be offensive to the inhabitants; but I desire that you will prevent your people from being impertinent to them. When the

little boy, we have spoken of, comes here, your Highness will please to send him to our Consul's house.

The Dey.—Yes, I shall send him as soon as he comes; but the people who detained him, live out of town.

After this, the Consul came forwards, and said to the Dey, "Yesterday I reported to Lord Exmouth what your Highness mentioned to me about your pretensions to the prizes taken by the English fleet, in the Mediterranean, during the late war; and his Lordship said, that you must give him a list of all your claims, that he may lay it before his Majesty's government, and he will endeavour to get them settled by the law of the Admiralty if they are just."

The Dey.—I shall send to Lord Exmouth a list of the whole, and I shall be satisfied with the judgment of the Admi-

ralty Court in any way whatever; for I wish to have these old businesses put an end to.

We then came away from the Dey's palace and went on board, and reported our proceedings to his Lordship, who ordered me to be in readiness to go on shore the next day, with Admiral Penrose, because Captain Brisbane was going this evening with the despatches to England.

On our going on board we met, at the gate of the city, the guards who had taken, from our people, and from the Dutch too, some sheep and fowls. I asked them the reason of arresting these provisions? They said that it was prohibited to let any live animal pass in the hands of Christians;*

* They do not allow the Christians to have live animals, because, they say, that we strangle them, and do not kill them as we should, by cutting their throats. The Mohamedans in general, when they wish to kill any kind of

but, if you kill them here, you may have them directly. I replied, that as we were not going to eat the whole at once, we wished to keep them alive, on board, for some days. —They said, we cannot let you take them alive, without an order from the Dey, who afterwards gave orders to let us carry out any thing without their interfering with it.

After all the money was embarked on board the Queen Charlotte, his Lordship immediately gave orders to embark 357,000 dollars on board the *Severn*, with

animal, prepare always a very sharp knife; and previously to cutting its throat, they make use of the following words—"*May God give thee endurance to bear what is predestined thee, in the name of Almighty God:*"—and immediately they pass the knife twice round the throat of the animal, and hold it till it discharges all the blood. On this account, they say, that the animals suffer a great deal under our hands, by our style of killing them. And they are allowed to eat, in case of necessity, any meat killed by the Jews, and not that killed by the Christians; because they consider our meat as stifled.

Major Gosset, to be returned to the king of the Two Sicilies; and likewise 25,500, the rest of the sum, to be embarked on board the *Heron*, with Captain Brisbane, to be restored to the King of Sardinia.

In this same day, I had put my Turkish dress on; and in passing through the streets to the Dey's palace, I saw, for the first time, an old Algerine *woman*, whose costume being very ugly, I began, out of curiosity, to observe how she was dressed and covered;* but she, for *compliment*, came and *spit* on me, and said, "Have you changed your religion, to go, with these infidels, against the Mohamedans?" (she thought that I was a Turk;) some

* In Alexandria, my native country, and in all Egypt, as well as throughout all the coasts of the Red Sea, in Syria, in Turkey, and in all parts of the Turkish dominions, where I have been, I saw all the women were veiled and covered in different styles; but never had I seen such an ugly dress, as that of the Algerine women.

1

3

2

Figures of Algonine Women

of the people told her, "Go away, you are a mad woman; if he was a Mohamedan, he never would have been with the infidels against us; he is an infidel as they are, and has put on this costume merely for his amusement, and to give us more consternation."

I took no notice of this, but laughed, and went on in my way, making my observation of her ugly dress: The following is an explanation of the sketch of the Algerine women's costume.

Numbers 1, and 2, are front and profile views of the Algerine women, when they go out of doors;—from the letter A to B, is all one piece of fine stuff, made of white wool and silk, which covers their body, from the eyes, over the head, to the feet; and they involve their arms and hands with it, crossing them upon their breast: Yet their feet are naked, with flat yellow

slippers only. At the letter C, there are some very large folds of the same cover hanging down from a sash, over which they loosely drop those folds, on purpose not to show their shape. And opposite the letter D, is a thick veil of red silk, which covers the whole of the face, except their eyes.

On the evening when I slept at Mr. M'Donell's house, I had a good opportunity to see some Jew women, from whom I took a sketch of the uncovered figure, number 3:—The cap under the letter A, is a round one, and about one foot in height; is made of metal, cut throughout with hollow squares. Among the Turks or Mohamedans, it is of gold and silver, or of silver gilt, according to the person's circumstances. And the Jews are not allowed to wear it but of brass; and their richest people, of silver only.

They fasten it with some ribbon under their chins, and let their hair float on their shoulders.

At the letter B, is a printed, or embroidered muslin handkerchief, round the head, over the lower edge of the cap, fastened behind their head.

Sincerely indeed, and without any flattery, I cannot refrain from expressing my high admiration of the English customs and manners, over all other nations that are known to me; not only with regard to the ladies, but of the national character altogether: what I remarked naturally characteristic in them is, that if an Englishman wishes to be your friend, he immediately shows you his hearty friendship; and, if he does not, he will sincerely explain, that he does not like you, without any further compliments.—But the other nations that I know of, always use a kind

of dissimulation, which prevents you from knowing a sincere friend, unless you become acquainted with him for a long time.—And, it is the same with regard to the character of the English ladies—that is, they always keep their endowments without any affectation. The simplicity of their dress, the genuineness of their manners, and the purity of their conversations, are, in my opinion, far superior and more agreeable than those of any other nation.—I observed very few indeed, of the English ladies, who wished to make use of affectation, and of them I immediately took notice, because they were the only ones in the company who wished to exaggerate their manners. But, in all other parts of the world where I have been, even in my native country, I always observed, that all the ladies in general use a great deal of affectation, in their manners, in their dressing, in their

walking, in their speaking, and in short, in all their movements; which, I think, is a very disagreeable thing; for, even if the lady is naturally handsome, she will, by using these unpleasant artifices, spoil her beauty, and her merit will then become very questionable.

Sunday the 1st of September.—After Lord Exmouth had written a letter to the Dey, as he desired, to enforce him to give up the two Spaniards, I went on shore with Admiral Penrose, to the Consul's house, when we sent a message to the Dey, that we wished to see him.—At two o'clock we went, with the Consul, to the Dey's palace; and after I had introduced Admiral Penrose, and he had paid his compliments to the Dey, who knew him before this time, began to speak as follows. —"Lord Exmouth has sent me to settle with your Highness the business of the

two Spaniards that were mentioned yesterday: all is settled except this point, about which, I hope, your Highness will not make any difficulty; because, after this is arranged, the treaties will be ready to be signed, and the fleet will leave your bay directly after.

The Dey.—I wish to finish every thing as soon as I can, because, I have some other important matters to attend to, (which may also be your case,) but these two persons, as I said yesterday, are debtors to the Algerine government, and not to me; I, therefore, cannot give them up voluntarily: and, if Lord Exmouth wishes to have them by force, I cannot detain them, because you are now all powerful, and can take them in what manner you like. On this account, I wish to have a letter from Lord Exmouth, to oblige me to give them up, in order to justify myself

in the eyes of my people; and so, he shall have them directly.

Admiral Penrose.—This is the letter you desired from Lord Exmouth, but, as he does not wish to deprive your Highness of any thing that may be justly due to you, he promises to employ all his influence with the Spanish government, through that of England, to deliver you this money, if it is your right; and he hopes that you will not lose any part of it.

The Dey—(with anger)—How can you say that I shall lose nothing? when once Lord Exmouth takes these people out of my dominions, without becoming responsible, I then might go to catch the wind to get me paid;—however, as Lord Exmouth insists to have them by force, let him take them; and if in time I shall be able to get my money, very well, if not, never mind: the loss and the result of

every thing, I perceive, must fall upon my shoulders.

I then explained to him Lord Exmouth's letter;—on hearing its contents, he became very cross, and looked to his people and said, "I dare say it cannot be helped; it is all by force of the sword, and not by that of reason or justice."

Afterwards he turned to me and said, "As there is no body here who understands both languages, I wish you to make a translation of this letter in Turkish, and bring it with you to-morrow, when you come to finish the treaty; and then you shall have the two Spaniards. But if, in the course of time, I wished to make war with Spain, or with any other European power, I hope the English government will not give them protection against me; for if England wishes to do this, I shall then leave off, and give up every thing, as I am

obliged in the present instance, to withdraw my pretensions, for these two Spaniards. Therefore, I wish Lord Exmouth, on his arrival in London, to get me a letter from the British government, to say, that it will not interfere between me and the other European powers, in case I should have something to do with them. And without this assurance, I shall do nothing at all, and I shall be exposed to the insults of all the world."

Admiral Penrose.—I think our government will not give protection to all the world, nor will it protect or countenance any body unjustly, or without reason—yet, I shall speak to Lord Exmouth this evening, and you shall have an answer, about this subject, to-morrow morning.

We went on board at four o'clock, and reported our proceedings to his Lordship, who ordered me to get the translations of

our treaty, and that of the Netherlands, ready for to-morrow, as well as the above-mentioned letter desired by the Dey.

Monday the 2d of September.—In the morning, having got every thing ready, during the night, I took our treaty, and that of the Dutch, as well as the Declaration for the abolition of Christian slavery, and the before-mentioned letter concerning the two Spaniards, and went on shore with Admiral Penrose. After having joined the Consul at his house, we went, all together, to the Dey's palace, where Admiral Penrose proceeded to say, to the Dey,—"This is the letter which your Highness wished, yesterday, to have translated into Turkish, to which Lord Exmouth's signature and seal are put: We have also the treaties with us, ready to be signed, as soon as this business is finished."

After I had read to the Dey the trans-

lation of the said letter, he began to repeat again what he had said yesterday,—" That the money of these two Spaniards was not owed to him, but to the Algerine government, and that he could not give up these two persons without asking the chiefs.

Upon this, I was induced to say to him, " if your Highness detain these two men, in chains, for ten years longer, what can you gain? but, as his Lordship now promises to apply to the Spanish government for your money, if it is justly due, I think this is the best way you can act for your interests."

He then answered (very cross), " All these words are useless: as Lord Exmouth will not become responsible, I am certain that I shall never get my money: I am going to send to ask the chiefs, and so, he shall have them directly—but tell the Consul

to affix his signature and seal to the letter under those of Lord Exmouth."

Admiral Penrose.—If your Highness wishes it, I shall put mine too?

The Dey.—Yes; very well. And then he gave orders to deliver the two Spaniards to Admiral Penrose; but at the same time I observed, that he called a messenger, and made use of the following words—"Go tell them, (the chiefs) that the English have obliged me *by force* to give up the two Spaniards." The man went away, and returned in fifteen minutes, and came near to the Dey, and said, in a low voice, "They say, never mind it, it cannot be helped, let them take them away."*

* Although I overheard this, I was still curious to know, whether he had really sent to the chiefs, or had only pretended to do so; for as I am aware of the Turkish constitution, that a governor is quite independent, and free to act and decide every thing by himself, without

After we had at last, with great difficulty, finished this business, I began to read to him (the Dey) our treaty, which is drawn up in the same terms as the old one, but a new clause has been added, by Lord Exmouth, for the renewal of the present peace, and for the corroboration of the former treaty.

I also read the treaty of the Netherlands, which is on the basis of their old one of the year 1757; but two new chapters were now added, by Admiral Van-Cappellan, for the renewal of the peace, and corroboration of the old treaty; and for the residence of a Dutch Consul General at Algiers, with his family and

consulting any body; and, as I had observed too, his independence during the course of our negociations with him, the dispatching of this messenger appeared to me to be a mere artifice: I could not, however, ascertain the fact; and therefore, I have yet my doubts on this subject.

suite, to be respected and treated, in every way, as the British Consul, &c. &c.

Then the Dey, as he can neither read nor write, called his secretary to read them again, and take copies of both treaties. At the same time he observed,—"But how must I do now with the other powers?"

Admiral Penrose.—Which powers?

The Dey—Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, and others; because, as England is the greatest power, her rank is always higher than the others; but you see now, that the Dutch wish to have their Consul on the same footing as the British Consul; and, very likely, in future, the other powers too, will pretend to the same equality: I, therefore, wish to have the letter which I desired from the English government, that it will not interfere between me and them, if I shall have any thing to do with them.

Admiral Penrose.—To-morrow you shall have a satisfactory answer from Lord Exmouth, on this subject.

Afterwards I read to him the Declaration for the abolition of Christian slavery; and as I had it already made in two copies, (as I mentioned in the first part of my Narrative,) I requested him to bring that copy which had been sent to him with the first letter of Lord Exmouth, to put his seal* and signature, and to give it to Admiral Penrose, who would in return give him the other one signed by Lord Exmouth.

After this was done, and Mr. M'Donell had also put, in both copies, his signature and seal, we asked the Dey to give us the two orders for the slaves at Oran and

* As there are very few of the people in Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Barbary, and all the East, understand reading and writing, they always confide more in the seal than in the signature.

Bona?—He immediately sent for them from the secretary, and gave them to Admiral Penrose, who, observing that it would take a long time to get the treaties copied by the secretary, wished to go on board, and leave me there till I could get them finished; and thus recommended me to the care of the Dey, who desired, before the Admiral departed, to state, that as all these troubles had arisen in consequence "of the business of Bona, he wished to keep Bona and the Coral Contract in his own hands; and, if at any future time he should wish to let it out to any of the European powers, England should have the preference over all other nations."

Admiral Penrose.—Very well, Lord Exmouth will not make this a subject of dispute.

The Dey.—I also wish to settle an old account I have with your Consul: Tell

him, therefore, to come here with his account, after some days, when I shall be at leisure, that we may close it.

The Consul.—I am now ready to finish this business; and it is better to settle it while Lord Exmouth is here.

The Dey.—Very well; get your papers ready, and I shall also prepare mine, and I hope this will be finally arranged to-morrow.

Admiral Penrose.—That is the best way: I shall be here to-morrow to terminate this business; and I shall then speak about the prizes your Highness mentioned before.

Admiral Penrose then went away with the Consul, and took with him the two Spaniards in question.—I remained with the Dey's Secretary, dictating to him till half past seven, when he got both treaties copied. I then went with him to the Dey, to put his seal. After this was done, he

grew good-humoured, and asked me, "Of what country I was? How I came to speak the Oriental and European languages? And if I was going to remain in England with his Lordship at the Admiralty?"

In reply I said, "That I was born in Alexandria; that my father was the British Consul there, and my mother was from Cairo; that I spoke the Arabic, my mother language, and the English as my father's; and that I went from Alexandria to Constantinople, where I was, for a long time, with the British ambassador, and thus I learned the Turkish language; and that afterwards I went to England, my father's country, where I proposed to remain, for ever, in the service of the government."

He then said, "I am glad to hear this, for in case I should send a letter to the English government, I am certain that it will be well understood." And he then

asked me what my name was, and where I was to be found? I gave him my name, and my address, at the Foreign Office.

Afterwards I gave him the two copies of both treaties, signed and sealed by Lord Exmouth and by Admiral Van Cappellan; and took the other two copies signed and sealed by him, and so left the palace at eight o'clock P. M. for the Consul's house, where I dined and slept.

Tuesday the 3d of September.—In the morning, after Mr. M'Donell had prepared his papers respecting the Dey's account before-mentioned, I went with him on board, and took with me the two treaties to Lord Exmouth and Admiral Van Cappellan.

The subject of the two Spaniards was then fully discussed between his Lordship, Admiral Penrose, and the Consul. The debt of the Vice-Consul, Don Heguiera,

being considered in every way unjust, having originated (as I said before) at the time of the revolution at *Oran*, his Lordship considered his release to be very just; and was glad that he was set at liberty. The debt of the merchant, Don Sebastiani Padrone, being of a commercial nature, and acknowledged by himself, Lord Exmouth thought it proper to write a letter to the Dey, in which he offered to guarantee to him the payment of the said debt, after it should be proved in the presence of Admiral Penrose.

After this, the subject of the Dey's pretensions to the prizes before-mentioned, was discussed, as well as his desire to know whether he was free to make war on the European powers or not; and his Lordship then considered it fit to write to him two letters more.

After I had got the translations of these

letters ready, his Lordship gave them to us, and desired us to finish also the accounts between the Consul and the Dey. We then went on shore to the Consul's house, and sent a messenger to call the Spanish Consul; for as he knew every thing about the business of Don Heguiera and Don Sebastiani Padrone, his Lordship had told us to take him with us to witness what passed on the subject between us and the Dey.

At two o'clock, the Spanish Consul accompanied us to the Dey's palace, where Admiral Penrose opened the conversation with the Dey, saying, "As Lord Exmouth is unwilling to countenance an act of injustice, he sends your Highness this letter about the Spanish merchant. We have brought his Consul to verify and prove his account, and his Lordship, as the letter

mentions, will guarantee the payment of the debt."

When I had read to him the translation of this letter, he said, " As Lord Exmouth will not become responsible for both persons, I shall not accept this letter. I know in what manner I can get my money from the Spanish government; thank God I have some means yet."*

Upon this, Admiral Penrose made me explain it in Italian to the Spanish Consul and tell him how the Dey refused to accept it, as he saw himself too.

Admiral Penrose to the Dey,—" Lord Exmouth sends your Highness these two other letters; one is concerning your pretensions to the prizes, and the other is an

* He said these words on purpose in the presence of the Spanish Consul, to make him think seriously and write to his government on the subject.

answer to your desiring to know whether you are free to make war with the European powers or not."

After having heard the translations of these two letters, he accepted them with great pleasure, and told Admiral Penrose, "I anxiously hope that when Lord Exmouth arrives in London he will get me the letter I desired from the government."

Afterwards he gave us a list of twelve Algerine ships, which he reclaimed, that had been taken by English men of war, during the late war; and said, "He supposed that all these ships had been already registered in the Admiralty Court, with all the particulars of their capture; and he wished Lord Exmouth to do him the favour of finishing this business as soon as he could; and that he (the Dey) should be satisfied whatever was the final judgment

of the Admiralty ; but he wished to have such judgment finally authenticated for the satisfaction of his people."

Admiral Penrose.—I shall give your list to Lord Exmouth, and you may be certain that his Lordship will do every thing in his power to get this business brought to a just termination ; now the Consul has all his papers ready with him about the accounts in question, and it will be better to settle them directly.

The Dey said, very well, and told his secretary to show us the account.

I went with him, and I saw that it was an old account of corn and stores, between the former Dey and our government, in the time of the last Consul ; it stated that the Dey had received stores from the British government to the amount of 138,000 dollars, and that he had furnished corn to

the amount of 112,000 dollars, which left a balance of 26,000 dollars to be paid to our government.

Mr. M'Donell then produced his account, according to what he found in his predecessor's books, which agreed in the first point—that the Dey had received stores to the amount of 138,000 dollars, but that the government had received corn to the amount of 65,000 dollars only; the balance, therefore, according to this account, was 73,000 dollars to be paid to the British government; and the Consul said, that the Dey's account that he had furnished corn to the sum of 112,000 dollars was incorrect, because the price of the corn had been altered after they had agreed about it.

The Dey then shewed me a declaration of his predecessor, stating, "That as he thought the English government had sent

him those stores as presents, he had given the corn at a low price; but, afterwards, understanding that the stores had been charged to him at a high price, he then had the corn valued at the proper price of that time;" which increased the sum from 65,000 to 112,000 dollars.

The Consul said, "That this was not true; because the price of corn at that time was the same as stated in his account, and he could prove it by many Jews and other merchants, at Bona and Costantina, who sold corn at that time at the same prices."

The Dey replied to the Consul—"These accounts were not in mine nor in your time; I found among the papers of my predecessor the account which I have shewn, and you have found yours among the papers of the former Consul; therefore as Lord Exmouth is present here, let him

determine this as he thinks proper, and I shall be satisfied by his judgment; I wish to settle this account because, perhaps, in time I may want something from the English government, or that government may want something from me, then we shall have no difficulty about any old accounts between us."

Admiral Penrose.—We shall go on board and represent this to Lord Exmouth, and examine if the stores have been charged too high or not; and I hope his Lordship will also finish this business, that every thing may be kept clear, and then we may begin afresh without having any thing in the way.

The Dey.—But I wish that you would send me an account, written in Turkish, of the determination of Lord Exmouth, and, accordingly, I shall pay the balance.

Admiral Penrose.—To-morrow you shall

have it in Turkish by our Consul, to whom you may pay the balance.

I then took a copy of the Dey's account, after which Admiral Penrose made his last compliments to the Dey, and told him that the fleet would leave the bay on this night or the following day. After this I desired the Dey to order his secretary to bring the treaty of the Dutch, to alter the date of the old one; because as Admiral Van Cappellan had made a mistake in the date, (instead of 1757 he had put 1794,) I had brought the treaty with me to make the alteration in both copies. Then he ordered the secretary to make the alteration as I said, i. e. instead of 1794 to put 1757; and so we left the Dey's palace.

When we went to Mr. M'Donell's house, Admiral Penrose made the Spanish Consul sign his name, as witness, to Lord Exmouth's letter, which was refused by

the Dey, and to which we also put our signatures.

On our going on board I visited the Algerine Admiral and the Captain of the Port, who, in the course of conversation, asked me, How many three-deckers the British government possessed, and what might be the whole number of the men of war? I said, if you should collect all the fleets of Europe, you could not form a fleet half as large as that of England; and I added, we have about three hundred ships of three and two decks, and if by accident you had sunk any of our ships in the action, you would have seen three brought instead of one.

The Captain of the Port then said to the Admiral, with a sigh, "If they had listened to my advice they would not have been reduced to this state, for I knew very well that no nation could stand against the

English, but it is all done by predestination of God."* In reply I said, "If these ideas of yours are sincere, you are in the right; for you must reflect that England has sustained more than twenty years war almost against the whole world." I then paid them my last compliments, and wished to go away. The Captain of the Port desired me to visit the new Minister of the Marine, (who had been appointed in the place of the former one, whose head was taken off by the Dey's order, on the day after the battle.)† I went with him and

* The Captain of the Port, as I mentioned before, is an Albanian. But the Admiral is a very civil and pleasant old Turkman.

† I asked the Captain of the Port, "Where the former minister was gone?" In reply he said, "That he was very ill, and not able to fulfil his duty." Upon this I smiled, because I had already heard two reports—one that the Dey had beheaded him, because he was the cause of all the Algerines' sufferings, by putting on the soldiers to oblige the Dey to fight.

The other, that he was beheaded because he did not

visited the said minister, who was rather a civil man, and in conversing told me, "I hope now we shall be great friends with England." I said, "I hope so;" and paid him my compliments and went away.

In passing through the streets, I heard the people saying amongst themselves,—"That our country (the Algerines' country) was as a virgin, until these *damned infidels* came and deflowered her; and now they are going away." I looked back, and laughed, without saying any thing; but I am very sure that the marks of our vengeance will be remembered by them for ever.

give orders to fire sooner to prevent our ships from coming inside of the mole.

But I am inclined to say that I do not believe either, because for the first report, I can say that the Dey was absolutely resolved to fight; and for the second it cannot be true, because the Dey himself was in the batteries of the mole, and if he had wished, he might have given orders to fire as soon as he saw the fleet, and nobody could disobey him.

At six P. M. together with the Consul, we went on board; and after having reported to Lord Exmouth what had happened, his Lordship began to examine the Dey's and the Consul's accounts, which were finally adjusted; and accordingly the Dey was to pay the balance to the Consul. I then wrote the account in Turkish, to which Lord Exmouth put his hand and seal; and at ten P. M. Mr. M'Donell took it with him to be presented to the Dey on the next morning. At midnight we, with all the fleet, excepting the Prometheus, which ship was left for any further negociation, and to receive whatever slaves remained in the interior, sailed from the bay of Algiers for Gibraltar, afterwards for England, rejoiced at our complete success.

END OF PART II.

PART III.

It is indeed most astonishing to reflect on the speediness of this extraordinary expedition. On the 28th of July we left Plymouth, and on the 9th of August arrived at Gibraltar, from which place on the 14th we sailed; on Tuesday the 27th anchored at Algiers, where we fought, released slaves, restored money, abolished Christian slavery, made treaties, concluded peace, and settled every thing. On Tuesday, the 3d of September, we left Algiers, and on the 12th arrived at Gibraltar; sailed on the 15th, and on the 6th of October anchored at Portsmouth; so that the whole time elapsed since we left England is only two months

and eight days. The two months were occupied in going and returning, and eight days only by all those wonderful events.

Certainly this expedition was favoured in every way by the Divine assistance; as I said in the first part of my Narrative. In the morning of the 27th of August, the fleet was in sight of Algiers, quite becalmed; afterwards a sea breeze sprung up and enabled us to bring the ships to an excellent situation even beyond what we expected. A few minutes before three P. M. the action took place, when, all at once, it became calm again.—The Dey himself was in the batteries encouraging the people to fight,* who really fought extremely well for

* The Dey of Algiers, with whom we had to do, is, perhaps, a brave soldier, but very ignorant. It is indubitable that he was in the batteries during the action; for when I went with the despatches on the first day of the attack, I saw his own flag hoisted on the Light-house bat-

about five hours, and when we had set fire to the first of their frigates, they tried to put it out; yet finding themselves in a short time reduced to a most dreadful state by the destruction of their batteries and the whole of their navy, with the greatest part of the arsenal, store-houses, and the city, and by the great number of their killed and wounded, at nine o'clock they ceased firing. During the conflict the Impregnable was in great peril, for when the action commenced, she was rather slow, and the Algerines having opened a tremendous fire upon her, she could not, on account of the smoke, make out the exact position ap-

tery.—This particular flag is carried always with him to be hoisted where he takes his station. It is of red, white, and yellow stripes. But the strongest proof of his being in the batteries is, that when I met him on the second day of the battle, I saw that all the folds of his *turban* and *dress* were full of dust and smoke of powder, as well as his *face* and *beard*.

pointed by Lord Exmouth, and was obliged to anchor opposite the strongest battery, by which she was very badly cut up, being hulled by 263 shots, of which about twenty passed between wind and water. Rear-Admiral Sir David Milne, having observed her dreadful situation, and the great number of killed and wounded on board, requested Lord Exmouth to send a ship to his assistance; but when the explosion took place under the batteries in front of the Impregnable, she was then somewhat relieved, and enabled to haul out with the fleet. Although much damaged, she did great honour to her dangerous situation by the destruction of the strongest battery in all the Algerines' fortifications. She fired 6,730 round shot; for Admiral Milne, seeing the dreadful fire which was opened upon her, gave orders to double load every gun.

The consumption of powder and shot, in the Queen Charlotte and the Impregnable only, was twenty-six tons and a half of the former, and about one hundred and twenty tons of the latter.

The Leander was the second ship after the Impregnable, which was most cut up; for her position was under a very ancient building and strong battery, called the Fish-market battery.

The five frigates of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, under command of Admiral Van Cappellan, took up a good position, and the corvette, *Eendracht*, was under weigh. They did their duty very well, and especially the *Diana*.

There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot attempt to describe, occasioned by one of the Algerine frigates, which was in flames, and drifted

towards the Queen Charlotte, within about fifty feet of her; and the blaze was so near, that it almost seemed impossible to save her, but while Lord Exmouth was giving orders to cut the cable, and the Queen Charlotte was veering round to take another position, it pleased the Almighty to send a breeze, which carried the burning frigate towards the town. And, in short, about twelve at night, when his Lordship observed the horrible state of the enemy, and deemed fit to cease firing, the Divine Providence caused a land breeze to spring up, which carried the whole of the ships out of gun-shot without any accident. After all the fleet had anchored, a tremendous storm arose, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and hail, which was a most extraordinary thing for that climate at this season.

The number of the killed and wounded in both squadrons was as follows:—

A General Abstract of the Killed and Wounded in the Squadrons under Admiral Lord Exmouth's Command, in the Attack of Algiers on the 27th of August, 1816.

IN THE BRITISH SQUADRON.

Names of Ships.	Killed.	Wounded.
Queen Charlotte	9	130
Impregnable	73	137
Superb	10	82
Minden	9	35
Albion	5	47
Leander	17	118
Glasgow	10	37
Granicus	17	41
Severn	3	34
Hebrus	4	15
Infernal (bomb*) . . .	3	16
	160	692

Total of killed and wounded . . . 852

Heron and Mutine . . . None.
Beelzebub, Hecla, and Fury, three Bombs . . . . None.

The Prometheus, Britomart, and Cordelia, under weigh.

* This vessel either drifted or took her position too near the batteries.

IN THE DUTCH SQUADRON.

Names of Ships.	Killed.	Wounded.	
Diana	6	22	
Melampus	3	15	
Amstel	4	6	
Frederica		5	
Dageraad		4	
The Eendracht under weigh			
	13	52	
Total of killed and wounded . .			65

Totals.

Killed and Wounded in the British Squadron.	852
Do. Do. in the Dutch Squadron .	65
Grand Total of Killed and Wounded in both Squadrons	917

The loss of the Algerines is not known, even by themselves, because they do not take care of their people as we do. They have no surgeons to dress the wounded men directly. They never use the operations of taking off arms or legs, to save the

life of a person; but, on the contrary, they put all their wounded people into a large stable, till the day after the battle, by which, many who might have been saved by the immediate amputation of an arm or a leg, were left to perish.

Of their killed and wounded I had several reports, some said that the number was about 8000, some about 6000, some about 5000, and some about 4000: I am sure, however, that their loss must have been very great, because they said, that if the Dey had not ordered the gates of the city, to be opened during the battle, to let the rest of the inhabitants run away, (though a great part of them had already left the town ten days previously to the fleet's arrival,) numbers more would have been killed; nevertheless many were killed by the explosion of our shells and by the rockets in the city, and while they were

going out of town, whose bodies were found on the roads.*

* The Mohamedans in general use, at their funerals, a great number of women to accompany the dead, with crying and howling, as well as a great number of men, who are continually rushing forward to carry the coffin, confidently certain that each person by supporting the weight of the coffin, for a few minutes, will assume a portion of the dead man's sins, and that thus the great number of people who carry the coffin will diminish the sins of the deceased, so that he may go to heaven pure, or without any grievous offence on his shoulders. All these customs, while we were at Algiers, were prohibited by the Dey, and he gave orders to bury the dead privately, without making any noise or using any ceremony. This, proves that the Dey wished not to let the number of their dead be known by us. But I learned, by many reports, that there were three large houses full of dead bodies; and that the people were employed to bury them every night during the week of our stay there. They buried them in a ground separated from the other cemetery, because, according to the Mohamedans' doctrine, they consider every person killed in battle, as a *martyr:* and as the attack happened to take place, on the fourth of their *holidays* of *Ramadan*, previously to which, they had passed *thirty days* of *fasting*, they were fully persuaded that the whole of those who fell, were the *purest* of *martyrs.*

At first, they thought that our rockets were a kind of signal rockets; but, when some of them had burst among the troops, and killed a great number, then they changed their opinion, especially, when several of the rockets fell on board of their navy, and some in the houses. They wished to put the fire out by water; but they found, that the more water they used, the more ardent the flames became. —The materials of the composition, they said, stuck to the wood, and penetrated like oil, the effect of which filled them with horror.

The quantities of powder and shot, spent in this tremendous action, are really so surprizing, that I thought the following detail worthy of insertion.

A List of the General Consumption of Powder and Shot, on Board the British and Dutch Squadrons, in the Attack upon Algiers, under Admiral Lord Exmouth's Command, on the 27th August, 1816.

On board of the British Squadron.

Names of Ships.	Pounds Powder.	Round Shot.	Shells of 13&16in.
Queen Charlotte	30,424	4462	
Impregnable	28,800	6730	
Minden	24,536	4710	
Superb	*23,200	4500	
Albion	*22,520	4110	
Leander	21,700	3680	
Glasgow	*13,460	3000	
Severn	*12,910	2920	
Hebrus	9780	2755	
Granicus	*9960	2800	
Mutine	808	341	
Prometheus, Britomart, Heron, and Cordelia under weigh	*3560	1200	
	201,658	41,208	
Fury, a Bomb	3577		320
Infernal, Hecla, and Beelzebub; three Bombs	11,423		640
Total in the British Squadron	216,658	41,208	960

On board of the Dutch Squadron.

Diana	12,846	2910	
The other 5 ships	33,273	7238	
Total in the Dutch Squadron	46,119	10,148	

N. B. All numbers marked thus * are not certain yet.

Totals.	Pounds of Powder.	Round Shot.	Shells of 13&16in.
Consumption in the British Squadron	216,658	41,208	960
Do. in the Dutch Squadron	46,119	10,148	
Grand Total of the Consumption of Powder and Shot on board the two Squadrons	262,777	51,356	960

These incredible quantities of powder and shot, which are nearly 118 tons of the former, and more than 500 tons of the latter, were spent in the course of about nine hours.—And, I think, the Algerines very justly observed, *That Hell had opened its mouth upon them through the English ships.**

Previously to our arrival at Algiers, they heard that our fleet consisted of fifty sail;

* When very young, in Alexandria, my native country, I heard the report of the guns of the famous battle of *Aboukir*, and saw the light of the explosion of the *L'Orient*, since which time I had always a great desire to see, from a distance, a naval action; but having now been in such a tremendous one as this, I have got very full satisfaction, and do not wish to see any more.

and then they said, "Let them come! what can they do with their fifty sail? The Spaniards once came here with 400 sail and 40,000 men, and they could not succeed against us."—They were, on this account, fully persuaded that their country was unconquerable; but, at the same time, a very curious circumstance took place: a magician came and presented himself to the Dey, addressing him in the following words—"The infidels will come here with so great a number of ships, that they will occupy all the bay from the northern to the southern cape; and they will take possession of the country, and destroy all your navy and batteries, and the city too; and they will kill great numbers of people, so that the blood will flow through the streets as water; and they will carry off an immense quantity of money and men: it will therefore be a great favour to me,

if you will give me the wife and goods of that man, who will certainly be killed," (and he pointed with his hand towards the minister of the marine, *who afterwards was beheaded by the Dey's order;*) " or you had better, perhaps, give me some *of those green dollars* which you have in the *Hazné.*"*

* Hazné signifies the treasury, or depository: it is well known that the Algerine government are very rich, by their plundering at sea; and that from the earliest period of their piracy, they have deposited all the money in a *cistern* or pit of an old castle, which lies on the west part of the town; and they say that they have there so many millions of dollars and old gold coins, that even themselves do not know the amount.

As the dollars have been kept so long a time, and are become quite corroded, they call them " the *Green Dollars.*"—I was told, that once, the former Dey wished to get all this money clean, and employed all the silversmiths for the purpose; but that, having observed, that after a year had passed, they had not been able to polish the half of it, he then gave over. During our attack, they said, that they had great alarms for that castle, in consequence of what the magician had told them.

At this, the Dey was very angry with the man, and wished to cut his head off directly; but some of his ministers said, "we had better keep him in prison, till we see whether his prophecy be true, or not."—The magician then replied, "I do not care whether you take off my head, now, or hereafter, I am sure of what I have said, and you will soon see the result of it."—He was immediately confined and put in chains.

After the action, I was told, that the inhabitants took him out of prison, considering him as a saint; and therefore, they were going to build a separate temple for him, out of town.

The whole of the Algerines' damage, in my humble judgment, after many reports and informations, may be computed to be about a million sterling. I subjoin the following calculation, for the greater satisfaction of the public.

A General Calculation of the whole of the Damage, sustained by the Algerines, in consequence of the Attack made by His Britannic Majesty's Fleet, under Admiral Lord Exmouth's Command, on the 27th of August, 1816.

	£
Value of five frigates of forty-four, four large corvettes from twenty-four to thirty guns; thirty-two gun and mortar-boats, and merchant, and other small vessels burned; some of the storehouses with a part of the arsenal, and other ship stores of all descriptions, destroyed	300,000
Reparation of the batteries, and ten thousand houses at least*	350,000
Ransom of one thousand two hundred and eleven slaves released, valued some at 1000 and others at 500 dollars per head . .	200,000
Restored in money, 382,500 dollars . . .	95,625
Powder and shot, &c. &c. calculated at about one half of our consumption, but valued at double prices	20,000
Payment of troops and other extraordinary expenses	50,000
Grand total in sterling	£1,015,625

* The city of Algiers contains more than 20,000 houses and 100,000 inhabitants; and though I am sure that not one house escaped, I only put down the half as damaged, in order to keep my calculation very fair. The reparation of the batteries, I am certain, will cost them

Many of the inhabitants of Algiers, and almost all the people of the interior, were quite glad at our success, as they expected that we were going to take possession of the kingdom, and release them from the tyranny of the Turks; for being very badly treated, they are dissatisfied with that government, and, if they could free themselves from the slavery which they suffer under the Turks, they would do it with the greatest pleasure.

The kingdom of Algiers is about 1600 miles in circumference, and more fertile than any other part of the coast of Barbary; there are no sandy lands in it, but all its ground is a very rich muddy earth,

considerably more; because, on their having lost the assistance of the slaves, they must now pay every workman.

The Algerines having no manufactories for any kind of warlike store, but a very bad gunpowder, they are obliged to purchase them from Europe; I have therefore calculated theirs at double the prices of our stores.

producing every kind of corn, many sorts of fruits and vegetables,* quantities of indigo and wool; the latter the natives manufacture themselves; they also fabricate a particular kind of very expensive sashes, made of silk and gold. They have an abundance of cattle, butter, &c. &c., and on the coast, there is the famous fishery of *Coral*.—How useful might this rich kingdom be to Europe! How great benefit would arise from it, to its inhabitants and to all other countries; and, how free and beneficial to every body, in this time of peace, would the navigation of that ocean of commerce, *the Mediterranean*, be, if those bands of robbers were driven from the centre of that *general*

* The kingdom of Algiers produces almost every kind of fruits except dates; because, all the land being hilly and no sandy earth in it, the palm trees cannot grow there. They receive dry dates from the environs of Morocco and Tunis; the distance being too great to obtain them fresh.

Royal Exchange, or emporium of all the merchandise of the world !

Fertile however as the kingdom is, instead of improving its revenue, and augmenting its prosperity, it is falling from day to day more into decay and misery, by the misconduct of its barbarous government.—*Alas ! and a thousand times alas !* what a great pity it is, that a country, naturally so rich and beautiful, should be left in the hands of a mass of pirates !—I wish to make only one remark on the principal point, upon which depends the prosperity of every soul, to show what kind of a government it is :—there are no regulated land taxes ; but, when the seed grows out of the ground, about a foot in height, they (the Turks) send a kind of officers, to every part of the kingdom, to collect the duties, as they call it. These officers look over the grounds of every individual, and

make an estimate, according to their pleasure, charging each person a certain sum for his cultivated lands.

Some of those poor agriculturists, knowing that their lands will never produce sufficient to pay the taxes, frequently destroy what they have sown, and run away into the mountains. Others, whose lands are not very far from the capital, and who cannot help themselves, either comply with the payment according to the valuation of the officers, or by making a present to them, procure, perhaps, some modification; and so they go on throughout all the kingdom. In every place where these tax officers arrive, the people are obliged to feed them and their suite; moreover, they must give them a daily allowance, during the time of their stay there; and besides, submit to many other exactions.

In consequence of this tyranny, many

tribes have fled, and still live in the mountains, plundering and disturbing all the kingdom; and, when they find an opportunity to kill any of the Turks, they do not let it slip. On this account, the natives are every day becoming more rude; but, I am nevertheless inclined to think, that if they were in the hands of a civilized government, which would take care of their happiness and prosperity, they would be a very docile and modest people. They are ignorant, credulous, and superstitious; but, if their religion, or their places of worship, be not meddled with, they remain very quiet. They are a very laborious people and good soldiers; many of them are versed in commerce, and the rest are very attentive to agriculture; they work very hard without sparing time; but, when they observe, that they cannot enjoy liberty, nor property; and that their

freedom is entirely annihilated by a despotic government, which does not care for their improvement or advantage, they will, of course, remain for ever, rude and savage; involved in ignorance, and thinking that all other governments are the same.

The same is the case, now, in Egypt, which is the most rich and fertile land in the world, and would have been much improved, if any of the civilized European governments had remained there; but I must say this of my countrymen's* misfortunes, that the Divine providence has not favoured them with the accomplishment of their earnest desire, which still prevails in their hearts, and which they expect, as

* I call myself Egyptian, because I was born in Alexandria of Egypt; but, as I have already explained in the preface, that neither my father nor mother is from Egypt, I should hope that the public will be pleased not to give me the reputation of those people called, in England, "*The Gipsies.*"

the Jews hope for the *Messiah*.—On this subject, I shall give a more detailed account in another work, which, if God pleases, I intend to publish at a future time: we now return to Algiers. The kingdom of Algiers is governed by the Dey, and about 8000 Turks; the whole mass are collected out of the greatest vagabonds of Turkey, who fled from their country and took refuge at Algiers; and whose character is clearly apparent, from their daily misconduct, and atrocities, even among themselves; none of them were sent, or appointed by the Grand Signior.—He does not receive any annual revenue from that kingdom: he only receives a sum of from £80,000 to £100,000, as a present from every new Dey, who ascends the throne, when he requests the Grand Signior to send him the *Firman* of his acknowledgment as Pashaw.

Thus, the Grand Signior would be very glad if they were every day to strangle one Dey, and put another on the throne.

If this kingdom was governed by regular succession, like those of *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, it would, of course, be much more useful to the Grand Signior and his subjects; and perhaps, he is anxious to have it so, but, as originally it was not his legitimate territory, and its situation being rather far from Constanstinople, he does not wish to trouble himself about it, and satisfies himself with the mere enjoyment of the title, of "*Sovereign of the East and the West.*" Upon this subject, I thought proper to insert the following brief history, to show how the Turks unlawfully usurped the throne of Algiers, in the year 1516, without the authority of their sovereign, *Selim I.* conqueror of Egypt.

The kingdom of Algiers was the ancient

province, in Africa, called *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, whose capital was the present city, which lies on the coast of the Mediterranean, under about 37 degrees of latitude north.

The founder of this city is not known; but *Strabo*, in treating of Mauritania Cæsariensis, says, "that on the coast of the Mediterranean, under the latitude of 37°, there was a city called *Jol*, which was built by *Juba*, father of *Ptolemy*, who afterwards changed its name Jol, to *Jol-Cæsarea;* and that, opposite this city, there was a very small island."*

* *Strabo* undoubtedly meant Algiers; and I have two reasons to believe, and to approve this:—

First—On the coast of the Mediterranean, under the latitude of 37°, there is no other city which has an island opposite to it.

Secondly—All the Arabs, and in every part of the east, they call the kingdom and the city of Algiers, "the *Kingdom of the Islands;*" and the "*Warlike City*

It is evident, that he speaks of young Juba, son of *King Juba*, the first person of this name, and nephew of the great *Bousho*, King of Mauritania.

When the troops of *Pompey* were defeated by Cæsar, and compelled to retire into Africa, young Juba was taken prisoner and sent to Rome. During his slavery at Rome, he applied himself to literature; and having in a few years shewn extraordinary talents, the Emperor Augustus, successor of Julius Cæsar, not only gave him his liberty, but married

of the Islands."——"*Acklim El-Jazaier;*" and "*Dár-el-Jehad, Madinat El-Jazaier.*"

The word *El-Jazaier* is the plural for *island*, in Arabic.—Thus, it seems, that besides the above-mentioned island, there must have been some other *small islands* or rocks, which now form the mole; and from which the Arabs, when they conquered that part of Africa, gave the name to the place. I am, therefore, quite sure, that *Strabo* alludes to Algiers; and that the derivation of the word Algiers, in all other European languages, is from the word "*El-Jazaier.*"

him to *Silene*, Queen of Egypt, daughter of *Marcus Antony* and *Cleopatra;* and, for dowry, he restored him the territory of his father, (the whole of Mauritania,) which, at that period, consisted of the kingdoms of *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Tarudante*, *Tremesen*, *Oran*, *Algiers*, *Bugy*, *Bona*, and *Tunis;* the whole of which was an immensely rich and extensive dominion.—On this account, *Plutarch* said, " that Juba had a very happy and fortunate slavery."

Juba, in acknowledgment of the Emperor's kindness, on succeeding to his throne, immediately added to the name of the city *Jol*, the word *Cæsarea*, and it has ever since been known as *Jol-Cæsarea*, now Algiers.*—Thus, it is quite clear that,

* I regret to see, that Mr. *Pananti* (an Italian gentleman who had been several years in slavery at Algiers) puts, in a geographical plan published in his original Italian book, the name of *Jol-Cæsarea* to a very small

from time immemorial, this city was considered as one of great rank, so that, a king of such an extensive territory did not choose any other place to be honoured and eternalized by the Emperor's title.

After the death of Juba, his son *Ptolemy* succeeded to the throne; but the villainous jealousy of the Emperor *Caligula* having induced him to murder this young prince, he took possession of the whole of his dominions, and divided them in two provinces: one was known by the name of *Mauritania Tengistien*, the capital of which

and unknown place, under 36° 20′ latitude, and 19° 20′ longitude, which, by no means, can be the same; because the celebrated early writer, *Strabo*, says, "that *the city was under* 37 *degrees;*" and the present city of Algiers is under 36° 50′ latitude, and 3° 48′ longitude; and Cape *Cazina*, which forms the northern cape of the bay, is under 37 degrees:—but the place which Pananti alludes to, is a very miserable village, in a bay, more than one hundred miles N.W. of Algiers.

was *Tengis*, the present *Tangier;* the other, *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, whose capital was *Jol-Cæsaria*, which is the present city of Algiers.

The Emperor Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, enriched this city by several fine columns and monuments, imported from Rome; and they had there, the public buildings which the Romans called *Conventus Provinciarum*, where the Roman Governors held their residence.

In the year 429 A. D. *Guntario* and *Genserico*, Kings of *Vandals*, and *Alans*, having subdued Spain, crossed over to Africa, where they destroyed and plundered the two *Mauritanias*, and especially the two metropolitan cities.

In the year 697 A. D. the Arabs conquered and plundered these provinces, worse than their predecessors,—and then, changed the name of *Jol-Cæsarea*, to " *El-*

Jazaier;" which is the derivation of the word *Algiers.*

When the Arabs became masters of almost all Africa, and had divided the lands among themselves, *a part* of Mauritania *Cæsariensis* fell to the share of the King of Tremesen, to whom the King of Algiers made an annual payment, for keeping that part of the kingdom within his dominions. *Abúferiz*, a powerful King of Tunis, having conquered the kingdom of *Bugy*, made the King of Tremesen to become his tributary.

After the death of the said King of *Bugy*, his territories were divided amongst his three sons; the youngest of whom, whose name was *Abd-el-aziz*, had the city of *Bugy*, which afterwards became the metropolis of his new kingdom.

When this young king had declared war against Tremesen, the King of Algiers was

compelled to become tributary to him, instead of the King of Tremesen.

They went on in this way, till Don *Pedro Navarro*, in 1509, A. D. conquered, for Ferdinand V. King of Spain, the cities of *Oran* and *Bugy*.—The King of Algiers, fearing the progress of this conqueror, thought proper to place the kingdom under the protection of a great Arabian prince, named *Selim-el-Ottemi*, who always resided in the mountains.—This protector came, and took up his residence in the city, and commanded the kingdom, till the Turks came, and usurped the throne, in 1516, under the following atrocious circumstances.

In the year 1492, when King Ferdinand had conquered *Grenada*, many of the Moors made their escape over to Africa; not only from Grenada, but from Valencia and Arragona also. As they were brought up in Spain; acquainted with the lan-

guage; had a knowledge of the country, and manner of fighting, better than the others, they encouraged their countrymen to increase the number of their piratical boats, by which they had very dreadfully infested the coasts of Spain, Majorca, Minorca, Iviça, and the other islands. At the time of the conquest of Oran and Bugy, as before-mentioned, by Don Pedro, King Ferdinand sent a very powerful expedition to destroy the city of Algiers, with all the corsairs, and to clear the Mediterranean seas from the Barbary pirates.

The Algerines, seeing this great naval expedition presented before the bay, immediately submitted to the terms proposed, and agreed to pay an annual tribute to Spain.

As the chief object was to prevent piracy, the Spaniards took possession of the island opposite the city, where they

built a strong castle, and established a garrison of a captain and two hundred soldiers.

During the life of this great monarch, the Algerines paid him the annual tribute, and suffered the fort, in front of the city, to be occupied, without having the courage to utter a word, or to cruize in any part of the Mediterranean.

On the death of Ferdinand, in 1516, they not only infringed their treaties, but wished to turn the Spaniards out of the island. In order to put their plan into execution, *Selim Ottemi* thought proper to apply for the aid of a celebrated Turk Corsair, of the name of *Sari-Sackalli*, or "the *yellow Bearded*," [in Europe, he is known by the name of *Barbarossa*,] who then was at a place called *Higir*, east of Algiers, and south of Tunis, cruizing against the Knights of the Order of Jerusalem, (now Maltese,) desiring him to deliver them from

the annoyance which they suffered by the infidels' residence in front of the city; and promising to reward him very handsomely for his assistance.

Sari-Sackalli, being very anxious to have a settlement on the coast of Barbary, was glad to accept the invitation, and immediately prepared eighteen *galleys*, well armed, and manned by Turks, which were ordered to proceed to Algiers; and he himself took a large body of his Turkish troops, and went by land.

Selim Ottemi, on hearing of his arrival, went to receive him, at a considerable distance from the town, with great ceremony and respect.

Sari-Sackalli, in order to blind the Algerines in regard to his intended atrocious plan, artfully refused to enter the city; and said, that as he had come there for a very short stay only, he wished to go

first to *Sargil*, a sea-port about fifty miles west of Algiers, where he had a very important business to settle with one of his Captains, named *Cará-ozún*, who was cruizing against the Spaniards; and then, he would return and be at their service.

On his arrival at Sargil, Cará-ozún, being astonished to see him so unexpectedly, contrived to make him as many presents and compliments as he could; but Sari-Sackalli, in return to all the captain's attentions, ordered him to be beheaded in his presence; and afterwards took possession of his wealth and property, and returned to Algiers, where he was received with great anxiety;—Selim Ottemi gave him an apartment in his own palace, and treated him with the utmost attention and hospitality: and his troops and suite were treated in the same way by the people of the country.

Sari-Sackalli, in order to persuade the Algerines that his intention was only to deliver them from submission to the Christians, immediately ordered a battery to be built opposite the island, and sent a message to the Spanish Captain of the fort, telling him, " that if he should surrender without fighting, he could give him and his troops their liberty, and send them to their country; otherwise, that he would cut them in pieces."

The gallant Captain's answer was, " that the offer of liberty, and the conveyance to his country, was in vain; and that menacing him with death, was calculated to frighten a *coward*, but not a *warrior*."

Sari-Sackalli, on receiving this answer, began to fire very furiously upon the fort of the island, which, although only about *four hundred yards* distant from the

city, was very little affected by the shot, the guns being small pieces.

After twenty days of continual firing, without any success, the Algerines felt that their mistake, of introducing the Turks into their country, who abused their bounty, and began to insult and treat them, in every respect, very shockingly, was a severe blow.

Sari-Sackalli's mind was engaged in forming atrocious plans, for making himself master of the kingdom; he had also very little regard for Selim Ottemi, even at his own palace, where he lodged with him. Having resolved to become the assassin of his host, he watched, on a Friday morning, when Selim Ottemi entered the bath of the palace, as usual; he (Sari-Sackalli), accompanied by one of his confidential officers, availed himself of the opportunity

to surprise him in the bath, where he was so brutal as to strangle him, and drop the body into the basin.—A short time after, he returned to the bath again, and immediately came out, spreading a pretended alarm among the Court, that he had found the Prince suffocated by the heat of the bath.

At the same time, the plot being already arranged between Sari-Sackalli and his troops, they were instantly ready with their arms, and came to the palace, exclaiming and proclaiming, " that *Sari-Sackalli is the King of Algiers;*"—they put him on horseback, and cheered him through the streets of the city.—The ministers and natives, although certain that their prince was murdered by the bloody hands of his traiterous visitor, could not oppose him; but were compelled to acknowledge him as their governor.

The son of Selim Ottemi, fearing to meet with the same fate as his father, made his escape to Oran, where he was well received by the Spaniards.

The usurper, having fortified himself within a castle, which commands the city from the N. W., called the Chiefs of the kingdom, to approve his legitimacy as their absolute king, promising them great things.

When the Turks saw that they were quite masters of the country, they began to increase their violence, by robbing and plundering the natives, who could not submit any longer; but thought proper to enter into a secret correspondence with the Spanish Captain of the fort upon the island opposite the city, asking his assistance in the execution of their intended plan of massacring all the Turks, and freeing themselves from their tyranny; promising him, that they would be very glad to become tributaries to Spain again.

The Captain's answer was in the affirmative; and the Arabs, of the late prince's country, promised their assistance also.

The arrangement of the plot between the parties was, that a great number of the late prince's countrymen should enter the city, secretly armed, and meet at a certain place; that the Algerines should set fire to the twenty-two galliots, which were on shore; and that, when the Turks went to put out the fire, the Spanish Captain, with his troops, should sally out of the island, in his boats, from one side, and the armed men in the city, from the other; so that, they might cut them in pieces, while they were confused by the burning vessels.

Unfortunately, this plan was known to Sari-Sackalli, through his great vigilance; he however pretended ignorance, yet increased the number of the guards at the arsenal, and at the gates of the city.

On the appointed day, while the chiefs of the conspiracy were assembled at the grand mosque, to perform prayer before their proceeding, Sari-Sackalli surprised them, with a great number of his Turks, and shut them up in the mosque: he then declared, that he knew all their intended design.—After having them enchained, he ordered twenty of them, whom he called the most guilty, to be immediately beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the streets.—Thus, he overpowered and terrified the Algerines, and made himself absolute master of his usurped throne.

In the year 1517, Selim Ottemi's son, who, after the death of his father, took refuge at Oran, by the assistance of Spain, made an expedition to recover his father's throne; but unfortunately, on his arrival at Algiers, a tempest arose, which was the cause of his failure.

Sari-Sackalli, finding that, through his tyranny, circumstances were in his favour, although the natives were very tired of him, was induced, from ambition, to usurp the thrones of Tunis and Tremesen, which afterwards were retaken from him; and at last, he fell in battle, by the hands of the gallant Spanish General of Oran.—After the death of this *tyrant*, his brother, *Sherif-Addin*, who was left at Algiers, ascended the throne; but fearing the consequences, thought proper, in the year 1519, to apply to the protection of the Grand Signor, promising to pay him an annual tribute, if he would confirm him as *Pashaw*, and give him succour and countenance against the Christians.

The Grand Signor, *Selim I.*, who never dreamt of such an offer, was of course very glad to add to his dominions one kingdom more—by which he added to his title, "*Sovereign of the West;*" and immediately

forwarded to Sherif-Addin the *Firman* of his *Pashawlik*, with two ships and some troops.

In the year 1530, Sherif-Addin, finding himself quite an independent prince of the kingdom, wished to drive the Spaniards out of the island opposite the city; and on the 6th of May, made a very furious and incessant attack upon the fort, which lasted fifteen days successively;—on the sixteenth day, the gallant Spanish Captain and his two hundred men, after a most glorious defence, were reduced to *fifty-four persons* only; the whole of whom were wounded and entirely exhausted:—Sherif-Addin immediately, with *one thousand three hundred* Turks, embarked from the city and landed at the island, where he took possession of the fort, and was so barbarous as to cut all those brave soldiers in pieces.

As in the Bay of Algiers, there was no

harbour for the security of the navy, Sherif-Addin thought proper to execute the proposed plan of his late brother, of joining the island, by a passage, to the city, by which means, the present mole was formed; the building was done by the labour of the poor Christian slaves of that period.—Afterwards, by degrees, it was enlarged; and they increased the batteries upon it, till it became very formidable, and is now considered as one of the strongest places in the Mediterranean;—it has, ever since, been the *rendezvous and refuge of thieves and pirates, to the disturbance and annoyance of all Christian nations.*

These were the atrocious circumstances, by which the Turks usurped the kingdom of Algiers; where they have destroyed the happiness of the country, plundered its inhabitants, annihilated their freedom and prosperity; and enchained them in the

depths of tyranny, and misery, till the present time.

The Dey with whom we made the treaty was named Omar Pashaw; he was between forty-five and fifty years of age, of a stout make, and about five feet six inches in height and well shaped; but, his appearance was altogether savage, and his malevolent and violent spirit marked by an exterior coldness and apathy; he could neither read nor write; he was a native of the island of *Mytelene*, in the Archipelago, and came from thence to Algiers, as a common soldier; but being rather a brave one, he was promoted to *Búlook-Bashlik*, to *Beeng-Bashlik*,* and afterwards, in the year 1813, at the time of the revolution at Oran, he was created by his predecessor, Hagi Ali Pashaw,

* Búlook-Bashlik signifies, chief of a company; Beeng Bashlik signifies, chief of one thousand.

Aghá or chief of the *Janissaries*, in consequence of having distinguished himself by his ferocious and bloody cruelty, (which was not less than that of his said predecessor, of whose horrid facts I shall give a full account,) in the execution of the Bey of Oran, under the following shocking circumstances.—The Bey of Oran was born there of a Turkman and an Algerine woman; being rather of a good character, he was elected by the inhabitants of Oran to be their governor.

After some time, the former Dey, Hagi Ali Pashaw, came to the throne; and being of a very bloody disposition, he had committed many shocking crimes, such as taking heads off without any reason, seizing properties, plundering, and taking away other men's wives and daughters, &c. &c. and his troops had followed the same example. At last all the inhabitants of the

kingdom became tired of these horrible acts. In the year 1813, the Bey of Oran, being very popular, and having observed the misconduct of the Dey, consulted with his uncle, (his mother's brother, who afterwards betrayed him,) to declare himself, with the people, against Hagi Ali Pashaw, and to drive all the Turks out of the kingdom, and to make their government free and hereditary, like those of Tunis and Tripoli.*

After his uncle had agreed with him, he wrote to the Tunisians to come to his assistance; and promised them, that he would annul the annual tribute, which the Dey of

* The governments of Tunis and Tripoli descend by succession from father to son, but they are not independent of the Grand Signior, like the kingdom of *Morocco*; they must have some chiefs and Turkish troops under their command, as a mark of respect to their Sovereign, to whom they pay an annual tribute.

The kingdom of Algiers only, is entirely governed by the Turks, and therefore the Tunisians were very glad to expel them from the Barbary coast.

Algiers exacted from them,* and that, he would remain a friend to them for ever.

These proposals were accepted by the Tunisians, who were very glad to drive the Turks out of the Barbary coast; they made their preparations, and marched from one part, and the Bey of Oran from the other, towards the city of Algiers. Hagi Ali Pashaw, on hearing of this conspiracy, began to make his preparations; but being too late, he had not time to oppose both armies, and was obliged to call off all his troops, and to keep himself within the

* For a great many years the government of Tunis had paid to that of Algiers an annual tribute, consisting of oil, soap, dates, and other articles. This tribute was stipulated since the year 1517, when the Turks had once usurped the throne of Tunis; but when the Tunisians became strong enough to defend themselves, they refused to pay it any longer, observing, that they were (both governments) subjects of one Sovereign, and therefore, one ought not to pay a tribute to the other. This is the cause of the war between Tunis and Algiers.

city, notwithstanding he and his people had lost every hope.

On observing his dangerous situation, he thought of sending a spy, with a letter, to the uncle of the Bey of Oran, promising him great things, if he would put an end to that rebellion.

The spy, unfortunately, succeeded in introducing himself among the army of Oran, without being discovered; and delivered the letter to the treacherous uncle, who believed the false promises of the Dey, and began to manage his nephew, (who totally relied upon him,) and instead of bringing the army of his nephew to unite with the Tunisians at the appointed place, he changed the route, so as to keep one body apart from the other; and sent a private message to Hagi Ali Pashaw, to come to such a place, (where he intended to remain, together with the army, all the

night,) and seize them in the early part of the morning. The Bey of Oran, at the same time, having suspected something of his uncle's perfidious management, deemed it proper to turn back towards Oran again, and secure his uncle, who was on his guard and fled to Algiers. After the Bey of Oran had returned to his residence, as well as the Tunisians, without having met one with the other, the Dey of Algiers sent the Agá of the Janissaries, (the Dey our friend,) with the uncle of the Bey of Oran, to blockade the city of Oran, and to bring him the head of the unfortunate Bey. This expedition, by the instigation of the traitor uncle, (whose head afterwards was taken off,) was successful, and the town was surrendered without fighting, and the Agá of the Janissaries* took possession of

* I call him Agá of the Janissaries, because his nomination was already promised to him by Hagi Ali Pashaw.

it, when the Bey could not escape, but was arrested with all his family, except two of his sons, who were out of town, and had the lucky opportunity to make their escape to Malaga; in consequence of which, the Spanish Vice-Consul, and the merchant beforementioned, were unjustly arrested, one after the other, as I have already explained in the second part of the Narrative.

After the Agá had settled himself at Oran, he sent a message to Hagi Ali, apprizing him of his success, and that, he had in his power the Bey and his family, except the two eldest sons.

The Dey's answer was, that he might decapitate the Bey, and his uncle too, and send him both the heads.

when he left the city of Algiers, with the expedition to Oran, that if he should succeed, he should be promoted to the degree of Agá. His title, at that time, was *Beeng Bashí*.

He immediately arrested the treacherous uncle, who had well deserved his fate, and took off his head.

Now, willing to show his bloody nature, he was so barbarous as to perpetrate the following shocking deeds, in the execution of the poor Bey. At first, they say, that he brought out the Bey with his three infant children, and, in his presence, opened their bellies, took out their hearts, roasted them, and made the unhappy father eat them, and placed their bodies before him (the father).

Secondly.—He brought the two black slaves, who were constantly with the Bey, and obliged their master to *impale* them himself; and after the two stakes were raised up, and fixed in the ground with the two slaves upon them, he made the Bey sit down on a red-hot iron waiter, and fastened each hand to one of the stakes;

afterwards, he took a hot iron pot and put it on his head; when this became cold, he ordered him to be *scalped*, and gave him a pipe to smoke; and at last opened his side, and took out his heart with all his intestines; and so the poor unfortunate Bey expired. He afterwards took off the whole skin of the Bey's head, filled it with straw, and sent it the Dey.* All these horrible executions took place before the house where the unhappy wife of the Bey was. I leave to every person of humane feelings to consider, what was the bitterness of such a dreadful impression, on the senses of that inconsolable wife.

* Throughout all the Turkish dominions, it is a general practice, when they conquer an enemy at a considerable distance from the capital, to take off the skin of the chiefs' heads, stuff them with straw, and put them into boxes, and convey them to the Grand Signior. Sometimes, if they wish to show him the whole number of persons who were beheaded, they cut off all the ears, and send two or three hundred pairs, at a time, to give him full satisfaction.

I have indeed no terms to express my horror at these atrocious acts of this man, in consequence of which, he was promoted to the Agálik of Janissaries, and, afterwards, raised to the throne.

Here I wish to state, as I was told them, some of the horrid acts of Hagi Ali Pashaw, to show how both characters (the Dey's and that of his Agá) agreed one with the other:—At the palace, the government residence in the city of Algiers, the Dey is not allowed to keep any wife. The Harém, or the Dey's wives, are always kept in a separate palace out of town, where he visits them every Friday evening only.* But Hagi Ali Pashaw had two women brought privately into the go-

* All the Mohamedans in general, as well as the Grand Signior too, when they marry a new wife, always celebrate their marriage on Friday evening.

vernment palace, and he had, besides, five Greek boys and four black slaves. After some time, when the two unfortunate women became pregnant, they said, that he took the first, opened her belly, took out the child, filled the poor mother with salt, and when she was dead, he took her body and cut it in pieces, salted it well, and put it into a jar. He took the other, and suspended her by the hair, to the top of a room; he wounded all her body with small wounds, and put a basin under it to receive the blood; and so the poor woman was kept, bleeding by drops, shut up into the room, where he visited her every day and increased the wounds, till she was dead; he then took her body, salted it, and preserved it in the same way as he did the first.

After these two unhappy ladies were dispatched in this brutal manner, he took

the poor Greek boys, one after the other, filled their mouths and noses with cotton, put them under some very heavy mattresses, adding a great weight over them, till they were suffocated. He then cut their bodies in pieces, and threw them into the private place.

He turned with the same horrid design towards the black slaves, one of whom was his confidant and assistant in all his shocking transactions; who having observed, that his master had already killed two of his black brothers, perceived that the turn at last would come to him; and thus, when his master went into the bath of the palace, he (the slave) was prepared to shut him up into the inner room, which is always kept extremely warm, and made a great deal of fire, more than ordinary, till he was suffocated, and gone to the devil.

On the next day the perpetrator came and apprized the Agá of the Janissaries, (the Dey, our friend,) saying, "That he was sure that his master would have killed him, and even now he was not sure of his life; but if they killed him, he should die with full satisfaction, for having obtained the revenge of his brothers, and of those innocent women and boys, and, at the same time, he had done a great service to the poor people of Algiers, by killing such a bloody and atrocious tyrant as Hagi Ali Pashaw;" and began to show the salted bodies of the two women, and give a full account of all the horrible and barbarous deeds of his master.*

These, as they say, are some of the

* This poor slave was afterwards put to death by order of the Dey our friend.

cruel and inhuman facts of the former Dey, under whose order Omar Pashaw, our friend, was as an Agá of Janissaries.

I have to state something further about the said *Omar Pashaw*'s acts, since he ascended the throne. While he was Búlook and Beeng-Bashí, he was acquainted with two European families who lived at Algiers as merchants, (I do not know of what nation,) and frequently dined and drank at their houses, and professed great friendship for them, but did not prove it by facts; however, they never expected any thing from him; they merely wished to keep him a good friend, for fear of his villainous character, he being known to be a most rapacious and wicked plunderer.

After his becoming Dey, he sent a message to these two his friends, that they must leave the kingdom.

Although they were surprised at the news, they went and requested him to give them time, till they might be able to settle their affairs with the people. He then agreed to allow them six months. But some days after, they say, that he called them and took their heads off in his palace; and sent a message to their unhappy families to quit Algiers immediately.

What is now to be said to this atrocity? Is this his gratitude for the hospitality which he had experienced from those families? or is this the reward and acknowledgment of their friendship to him? Notwithstanding there are many other horrid facts committed by him, which I cannot attempt to describe, I wish to conclude only with one more of his ungenerous acts: Since the former Dey's time, (Hagi Ali,) a young Algerine, of a rich family, was confined in prison for a debt of about

100,000 dollars, owed to several people, who, after the death of the said Dey, having observed that the young man had been so long a time in prison, and that his father had died, without leaving him any thing to pay his debts, thought proper to set him at liberty, to take care of his father's property, without requiring any thing from him, until he should become able to pay his debts. But, when the Dey (our friend) came to the throne, he refused to free the indebted young man from prison, and put him in chains, and made him work as one of the slaves.

The creditors said, " We do not wish to receive one dollar from him, we wish to set him free to take care of the family and property, &c."

The Dey's answer was, " If you do not wish to receive the 100,000 dollars from that young man, I wish to receive them

myself; and thus, I shall not set him at liberty, until he has paid the sum." The unfortunate young man was still in chains when we left Algiers; and they said, that the people felt for him, and wished that he had been a Christian, that he might have been released, by us, from that miserable state.

Therefore, such a tyrant, such a piratical state, should have been totally destroyed; but they perceived their ruin was at hand, and as soon as the blow was given to them, by the ever-victorious British arms, they submitted to that agreement which has prolonged their existence in that quarter of the earth. Yet, if one trophy more was wanting to complete the claim of Great Britain to the love and gratitude of the nations, it was that which her hero wrested from the Moorish tyrant. Long had she laboured to break the

galling chain of the African slave; this, she has gloriously effected, by triumphing over the selfish passions of man, and restoring his fellow-creature to those primæval rights of personal liberty, which the Creator gave to all men as the unalienable property of their nature. But her satisfaction was incomplete, while there remained this vice in the human character, unabashed by her example, and unsubdued by her influence. So Great Britain, who owes her pre-eminence not less to her national virtues, than the valour of her people, stepped forward as the moral instructress of the earth, and by exciting the general indignation against that hydra of iniquity, the slave-trade, has at length delivered the unoffending sons of Africa from its deadly folds; but there yet remained another monster, which, to the disgrace of every European court, had too long been suffered to insult their respective

flags, by dragging their vessels of trade into its caverns, and retaining their subjects in slavish durance.

This monster, which infested the Mediterranean and the Atlantic ocean, with the besom of indignation, the noble Exmouth has swept from the surface of those seas, on which it dared to prey, destroyed its strong holds, and delivered its helpless victims from its mortal entanglements, from a whole life of slavery and misery.

In this deed of retributive justice, the motive reflects the chief honour upon the British arms. The punishment was as summary, as the result of it was glorious. But, in this, as in every other enterprize, the prompt spirit of bravery, which actuates our seamen, was conspicuous. The blow was no sooner meditated than it was given, and the chastisement was complete. The cause of humanity was concerned; and the

same impulse, which induced the arbitress of the civilized world to stretch forth her protecting arm in behalf of the suffering African, led her to teach the savage ruler of Algiers, that the blood of her European brethren was too precious to be drawn by the whip of slavery; and their freedom too costly to be submitted to the nod of a barbarian.

The signal vengeance which this petty despot suffered, has added another naval crown to those which the exploits of Lord Exmouth have already won in the course of his professional life, and the nature of the transaction has added additional interest to the name of Pellew; a name, that is blended with some of the boldest acts of bravery, and most skilful evidences of seamanship, that grace the laurelled annals of the British navy; a name, that will never be pronounced by his countrymen, but

with the proudest exultation, and liveliest affection.

I cannot yet close this Narrative, without professing my admiration, with grateful regard, of the skill and wisdom that I remarked in the exalted characters of Lord Exmouth's representatives, (Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Penrose and Captain Sir James Brisbane.)* This is indeed characteristic of the British nation, and, I confidently

* I am very much indebted to the goodness of my Lord Exmouth, and of his representatives, who were so kind as to honour me with the following testimonials, which certainly are more than what I deserve; because, in these services I have done nothing but my duty.

(Copy.)

Having testified my approbation and thanks to the officers and men, serving under my command on the expedition to Algiers, I cannot refrain from offering Mr. Abraham Salamé, who accompanied me as Turkish interpreter, my profession of satisfaction at the manner in which he has performed that office; and thus bear testimony of his fidelity in the trust I reposed in him, and of

trust, that it will owe many a future chieftain, to the example of those virtues which dignify her Exmouth.

the assistance he afforded me in the negociations with the Dey, and in bringing them to final conclusion.

(Signed) EXMOUTH.

Queen Charlotte, Portsmouth,
7th October, 1816.

(Copy.)

Admiral Lord Exmouth, having accepted my services to bring to final conclusion various arrangements with the Dey of Algiers, which required personal explanation and remonstrance, in consequence of the late rupture between his Highness and the British government; and Mr. Abraham Salamé, having attended me, the three days these negociations were pending, in the capacity of interpreter, it gives me much satisfaction, in subscribing to this testimonial of my approbation of his conduct in performing his duty.

His interpretations appeared to me to be clear, distinct, and perfectly understood by the Dey and his confidential servants; and, in the course of the negociation, the subjects discussed were various both in matter and interest; but whether of a pleasant, or an unpleasant

In conclusion, we justly owe, and must pay great thanks, to the Almighty, for this and all former victories; and constantly

nature, the same mildness, temper, and firmness, united with a becoming respect, presented a marked feature in the character of Salamé, who exhibited considerable talent, and a quickness of perception which afforded me great assistance.

(Signed) C. V. PENROSE, Rear-Admiral.

Given on board the Ister, in Gibraltar Bay, 15th of September, 1816.

(Copy.)

Mr. Abraham Salamé, having embarked on board the Queen Charlotte, as Turkish interpreter on the expedition against Algiers, accompanied me after the battle, to demand of the Dey, by Lord Exmouth's order, certain points which are before the public.

In justice to Salamé, I have to state that, in all my conference with the Dey, and especially on the occasion of his being obliged to beg the Consul's pardon, Salamé faithfully discharged his office with much talent, perspicuity, and temper, and with dignified firmness.

I have great satisfaction in bearing this testimony to his abilities; and am thoroughly convinced, a more com-

pray for the preservation of his Britannic Majesty, and that, his fleets and armies

petent and able person could not have been selected for this important service.

(Signed) J. BRISBANE,
Captain of the Queen Charlotte.

16*th October*, 1816.

(Copy.)

The bearer, Mr. Abraham Salamé, accompanied me on the expedition to Algiers, on board the Queen Charlotte, in quality of interpreter. He volunteered his service to go on shore, to the Dey, with my demands, and explain them in person; and did attend in a boat, which carried the despatches to the gates of the arsenal, a service of considerable danger. He returned, without the Dey's answer, by the prescribed time, and continued on board the Queen Charlotte during the engagement.

He was afterwards employed, in the Dey's presence, to carry on the negociations, and in that situation, as well as all others, whilst under my command, Mr. Salamé gave me proofs of his abilities, integrity, and zeal, and was, in every respect, entitled to my confidence.

His manners were extremely unassuming and modest; and being about to travel on the continent, he has requested of me a letter of introduction; and I shall be

may be always, glorious and victorious over all his enemies in this world.

very glad to find this testimony, may be of use to him should he present it to any of his Majesty's Ministers, where he may stop on his journey.

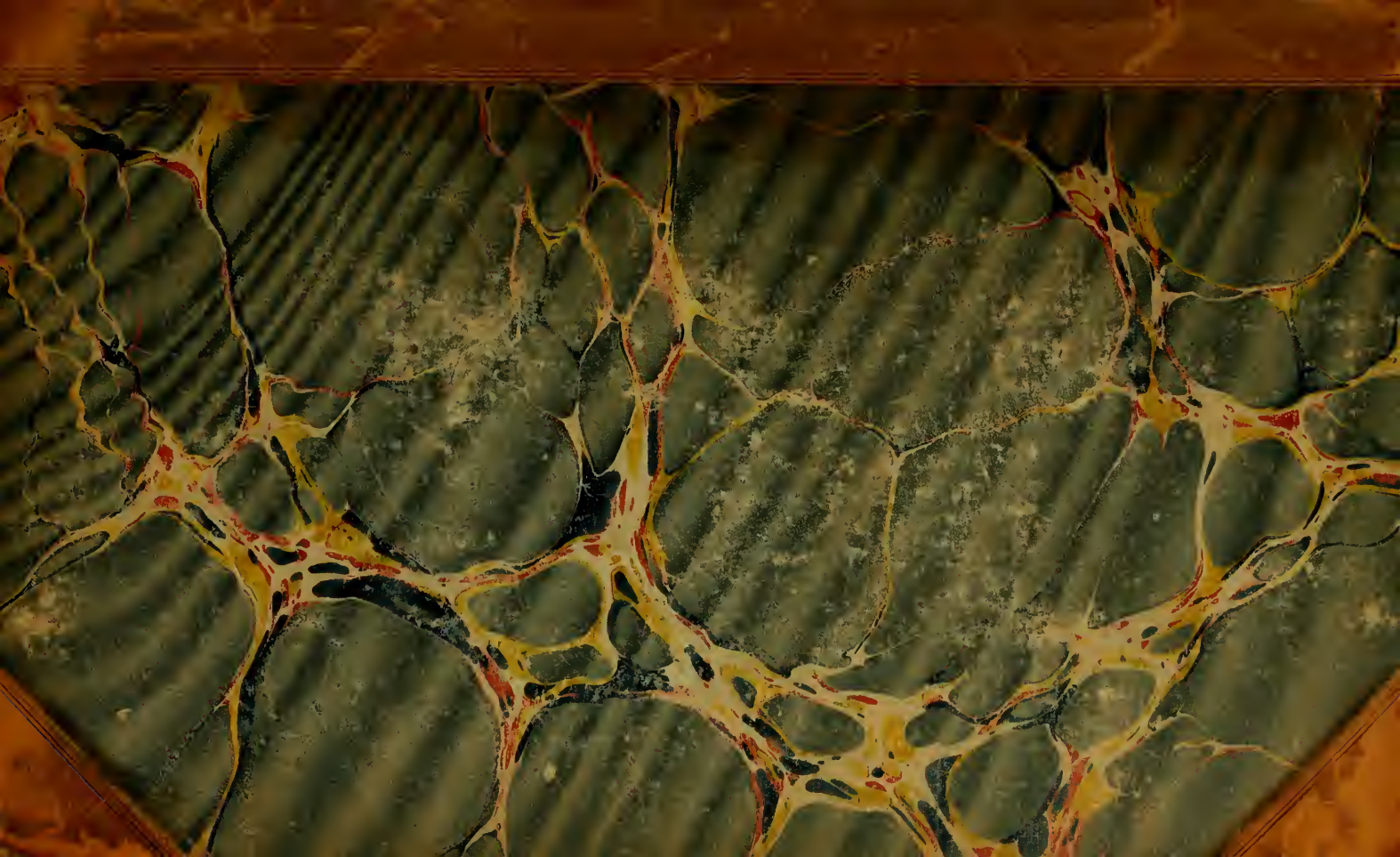
Given under my hand, in London, this 7th of June, 1817.

(Signed) EXMOUTH.

THE END.

Note to page 185, *line* 3*d.*

The Deys in Algiers are elected by the Janissaries among themselves without the least consultation with the people of the country. Whenever they are tired of one Dey, they make their arrangements privately for the choice of another; and then they go to the palace, drag the reigning one from the throne, strangle or behead him, and put the new one in his place. Although aware of this *wretched end*, yet they are willing to ascend the throne, even if it be *for one day only!* The present Dey is the third after our friend *Omar Pashaw*, who was taken from the throne, and thrown out of the windows of the gallery, (the room in which we negotiated with him), to the court yard of the palace, where he was immediately *dispatched!*

London: Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 06561 037 8